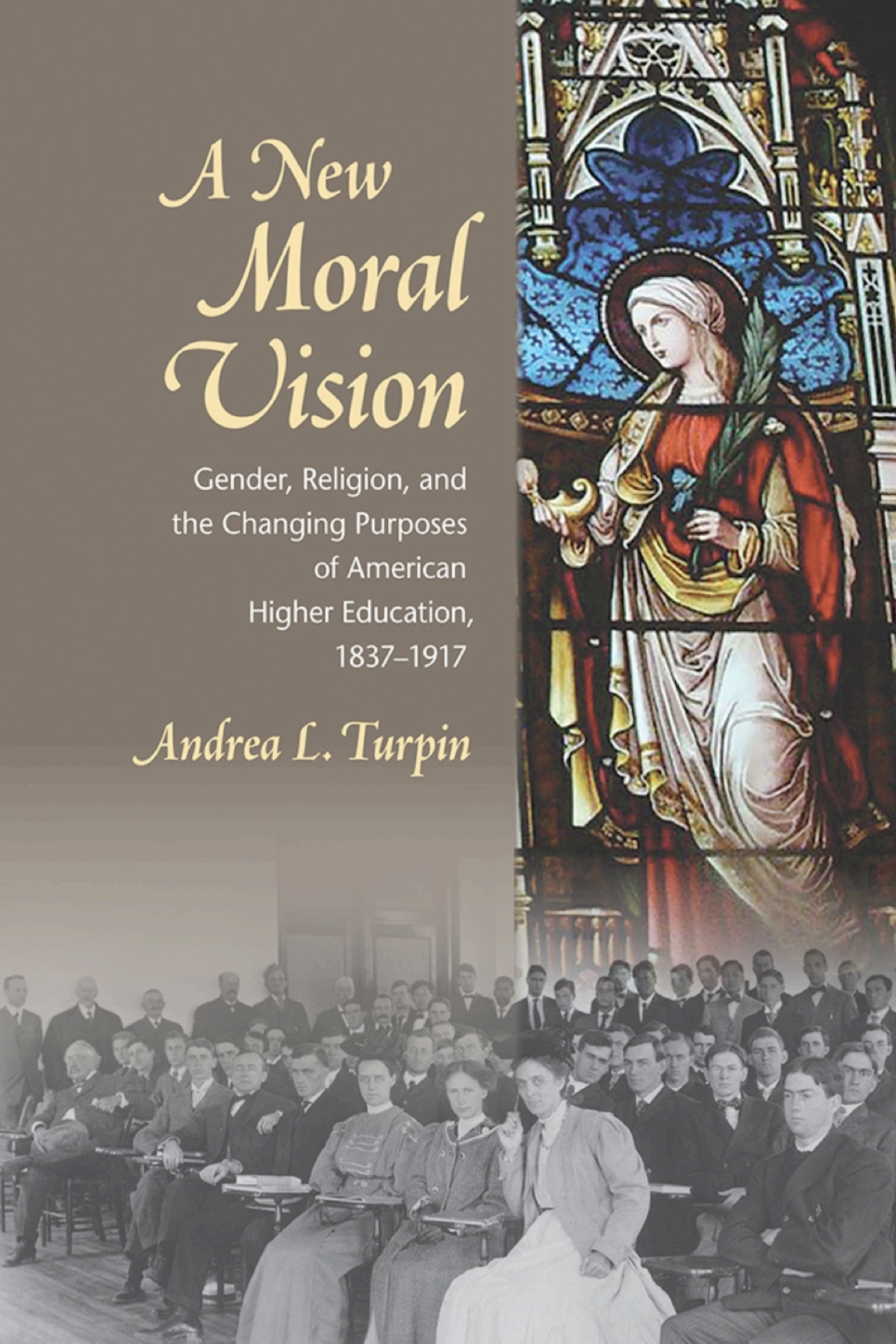
A New Moral Vision

Gender, Religion, and the Changing Purposes of American Higher Education, 1837–1917

Andrea L. Turpin



VISIT…

LANZAROTE Caliente.COM

A NEW MORAL VISION

A Volume in the Series

American Institutions and Society

Edited by Brian Balogh and Jonathan Zimmerman

A NEW MORAL VISION

GENDER, RELIGION, AND THE CHANGING PURPOSES OF AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION, 1837–1917

ANDREA L. TURPIN

CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS
Ithaca and London

Copyright © 2016 by Cornell University

All rights reserved. Except for brief quotations in a review, this book, or parts thereof, must not be reproduced in any form without permission in writing from the publisher. For information, address Cornell University Press, Sage House, 512 East State Street, Ithaca, New York 14850.

First published 2016 by Cornell University Press
Printed in the United States of America

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Turpin, Andrea Lindsay, author.
Title: A new moral vision : gender, religion, and the changing purposes of American higher education, 1837–1917 / Andrea L. Turpin.
Description: Ithaca : Cornell University Press, 2016. | Series: American institutions and society | Includes bibliographical references and index.
Identifiers: LCCN 2016011448 | ISBN 9781501704789 (cloth : alk. paper)
Subjects: LCSH: Women in higher education—United States—History—19th century. | Women in higher education—United States—History—20th century. | Education, Higher—Moral and ethical aspects—United States—History—19th century. | Education, Higher—Moral and ethical aspects—United States—History—20th century. | Universities and colleges—United States—Religion.
Classification: LCC LC1568 .T87 2016 | DDC 378.00820973—dc23 LC record available at http://lccn.loc.gov/2016011448

Cornell University Press strives to use environmentally responsible suppliers and materials to the fullest extent possible in the publishing of its books. Such materials include vegetable-based, low-VOC inks and acid-free papers that are recycled, totally chlorine-free, or partly composed of nonwood fibers. For further information, visit our website at www.cornellpress.cornell.edu.

Cloth printing 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

Cover design: Richanna Patrick.
Cover photographs: Detail, featuring St. Lucia, from Memorial Antechapel West Windows of Sage Chapel, Cornell University (top). Dairy class in East Roberts Hall, Cornell University, October 1906 (bottom). Both images courtesy of the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections at Cornell University.

To my parents,
Anita and David Turpin,
with gratitude for your love for me and for learning

Contents

Acknowledgments ix

Introduction: Engendering Ethical Education 1

1 Reorienting Righteousness: Toward a New Narrative of Gender and Religion in American Higher Education 11

Part 1 Women Enter Higher Education, 1837–1875 37

2 Ideological Origins of the Women's College: Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon, and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary 39

3 Ideological Origins of Collegiate Coeducation: Oberlin College as a Sending City on a Hill 63

4 Separate or "Joint Education of the Sexes"? Religion, Science, and Class in National Debates 88

Part 2 The Rise of Gendered Moral Visions, 1868–1917 109

5 The Chief End of Man and of Woman: Princeton and Evelyn 111

6 A House Divided? Harvard and Radcliffe 135

7 "Not to Be Ministered unto, but to Minister": Wellesley College 156

8 "I Delight in the Truth": Bryn Mawr College 174

9 "Almost without Money and without Price to Every Young Man and Every Young Woman": The University of Michigan 192

10 "Even an Atheist Does Not Desire His Boy to Be Trained a Materialist": The University of California 211

PART 3 STUDENT VOLUNTARY RELIGION AND SERVICE, 1868–1917 233

11 Serving the College and the Nation: YMCAs and YWCAs on Campus 235

Conclusion: Trajectories and Trade-offs 265

Notes *273*

Index 327

Acknowledgments

It takes a village to nurture a book into being, and I have been privileged to be part of one that stretches from coast to coast. This project grew out of seeds sown at the University of Notre Dame, and my greatest intellectual debts are to three of my mentors there: George Marsden, Gail Bederman, and, above all, James Turner. All three also read early versions of this work and their guidance in clarifying my claims has been invaluable. All have invested in me professionally and supported me personally, and I remain forever grateful. Many other colleagues at Notre Dame provided helpful feedback on portions of this work as it was developing: Margaret Abruzzo, Jeffrey Bain-Conkin, Lauren Nickas Beaupre, Myles Beaupre, Heath Carter, Angel Cortes, Raully Donahue, Timothy Gloege, Danielle DuBois Gottwig, Brad Gregory, Jonathan Den Hartog, Lourdes Hurtado, Michael Lee, Sarah Miglio, Nicholas Miller, Sheila Nowinski, Eli Plopper, Laura Rominger Porter, Thomas Rzeznik, Donald Stelluto, Charles Strauss, Elizabeth Covington Strauss, David Swartz, and the rest of the Notre Dame Colloquium on Religion and History, the Notre Dame Intellectual History Seminar, and the 2010–2011 fellows of the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study.

I am deeply grateful to the two anonymous reviewers solicited by Cornell University Press (CUP). The time they put into providing thoughtful, detailed suggestions has made this a much sharper book. Many thanks also to CUP acquisitions editor Michael McGandy and series editors Brian Balogh and Jonathan Zimmerman for believing in this project and shepherding it to fruition. Michael provided valuable guidance on matters both stylistic and substantive, and Brian deserves special recognition for helping me tighten up the narrative throughout. Bethany Wasik at CUP consistently provided timely technical assistance. My good friend and fellow scholar Josephine Dru provided insightful comments on the entire manuscript and assisted in its final formatting and submission. Mary Ribesky and Fran Lyon at Westchester Publishing Services deftly shepherded the manuscript through the copy editing process.

Many additional scholars generously volunteered reflections on draft chapters or related conference papers, and this book is far better for their insights. Particular thanks go to Prisca Bird, Heidi Bostic, Daniel Clark, Holly Collins, Meghan DiLuzio, Mary Ann Dzuback, Linda Eisenmann, Roger Geiger, Hilary Hallett, Barry Hankins, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, Gordon Isaac, Andrew Jewett, Alice Mathews, Yoon Pak, Christopher Shannon, Joseph Stubenrauch, Jerry Walls, and Christine Woyshner. My thinking on the issues discussed in this book has also benefited from informal conversations with fellow historians, especially Nathan Alleman, Janine Giordano Drake, Perry Glanzer, Brian Ingrassia, and Ethan Schrum. Additional scholars whose instruction and mentorship have particularly helped to shape me as a historian include Gwenfair Walters Adams, Doris Bergen, Peter Brown, Anthony Grafton, Erika Hermanowicz, Paul Lim, Marc Rodríguez, Garth Rosell, and Thomas Slaughter. Several colleagues provided helpful direction on the book-writing process: Beth Allison Barr, Julie deGraffenried, Jeffrey Hamilton, Kimberly Kellison, Thomas Kidd, and Julie Sweet. As the recipient of such a wealth of assistance, I claim sole responsibility for any remaining weaknesses in the book.

Thanks to two journals for allowing the inclusion of material first published there: Much of chapter 2 appears in slightly different form in "Ideological Origins of the Women's College: Religion, Class and Curriculum in the Educational Visions of Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon," *History of Education Quarterly* 50 (May 2010): 133–58. Portions of chapters 5 and 11 appear in slightly different form in "The Chief End of Man at Princeton: The Rise of Gendered Moral Formation in American Higher Education," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 15 (October 2016). Particular thanks to editor Benjamin Johnson for his feedback on this material.

A number of institutions have provided resources without which this project could never have come to fruition. I could not imagine a more stimulating and congenial environment for writing this book than Baylor University. Baylor has generously supported this work in many ways, including two summer sabbaticals that enabled me to concentrate my attention on this effort. I am blessed that an earlier year of writing took place in a similarly inspiring and supportive environment: the Notre Dame Institute for Advanced Study. The Notre Dame Presidential Fellowship funded by the Lilly Foundation enabled research on this project, as did several additional grants that facilitated travel to the necessary archives: a 2008–2009 travel grant from the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study, a 2008–2009 Bordin-Gillette Researcher Travel Fellowship from the Bentley Historical Library at the University of Michigan, a 2008–2009 Friends of the Princeton Univer-

sity Library Research Grant, a fall 2008 Zahm Research Travel Grant from the University of Notre Dame, and a spring 2009 travel grant from Notre Dame's Department of History.

Special thanks to the extremely helpful and knowledgeable archival staffs at the Bryn Mawr College Archives, Harvard University Archives, Mount Holyoke College Archives, Oberlin College Archives, Princeton University Archives, Princeton University Rare Books and Special Collections, Quaker and Special Collections at Haverford College, Radcliffe College Archives, Sophia Smith Collection, University of California Archives, University of Michigan Archives, and Wellesley College Archives.

Research in archives from Massachusetts to California would not have been possible without generous hospitality from friends, old and new. Thanks to Pete and Jackie Johnsen and especially to Amy and Chris Baldwin for housing me during part of my research at Princeton. Thanks to Katherine Sedgwick and her roommates for housing me during my research at Bryn Mawr. Kate's generosity extended to sharing research leads in the Bryn Mawr and Haverford archives. Special thanks to two extraordinarily generous families who put me up sight unseen: Maureen and Andrew Brown agreed to host their friends' son's dorm mate's sister for one week, and Maria and Dennis Watt agreed to host their friend's friend's daughter for three. Between them they enabled my research at Mount Holyoke, the Sophia Smith Collection, and the University of California. Margot Hampe at the Wellesley Bed and Breakfast and Cat and Matt Sherrill went above and beyond the call of duty to make my stays with them pleasant.

I am so privileged to have an abundance of both friends and family who have been a steady source of love, support, and encouragement throughout my work on this project. A few deserve particular mention: To Leah Gorham and Erin Payseur, thank you for being my "Waco family." To Josephine Dru and to Jerry Walls, thank you for your consistent long-distance emotional support—and writing advice. I am also grateful to my grandmother Pat Beasley and my late grandparents Elizabeth Turpin and Harold Beasley for always cheering my progress with pride. My brother John and sister-in-law Stephanie Marienau Turpin have encouraged me through their faith in my sense of vocation. My young niece Junia inspires me to write and teach for the next generation. Finally, no one could ask for more loving and encouraging parents than Anita and David Turpin. I am particularly indebted to them for instilling in me a love of learning and providing me with the best possible education. Knowing they love me, believe in me, and will help me in whatever way possible continues to be one of my greatest sources of strength. It is to them that I dedicate this book.

A NEW MORAL VISION

Introduction
Engendering Ethical Education

> Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on an hill cannot be hid. Neither do men light a candle, and put it under a bushel, but on a candlestick; and it giveth light unto all that are in the house. Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven.
>
> —Matthew 5:14–16 KJV

In 1872, Alice Freeman enrolled at the University of Michigan, only two years after the institution first opened to women. She could not have chosen a more dramatic time in the history of higher education. The decades before the Civil War had seen a few colleges and universities begin admitting female students, but Freeman belonged to the company of women who charged campuses en masse soon after the musket smoke cleared. This period also witnessed drastic changes in the nature of collegiate education itself and the role such education played in American life. A growing ideal dictated that institutions of American higher education extend their responsibilities from passing down previously accumulated knowledge to engaging also in original research. Paralleling this academic evolution was a theological shift: what might be called the "disestablishment" of a conversion-oriented evangelical Protestant doctrine from its favored place within most institutions of higher learning. In its stead, many American intellectuals embraced a more liberal "modernist" Protestant theology, which prioritized ethics, and they accordingly changed their approach to communicating religious values on campus. These related but distinct trends carried implications for the traditional role of colleges as institutions that looked not only to their students' intellectual development but to their moral development as well. Debates about the purposes of collegiate education

subsequently flourished from the 1870s through the 1910s—exactly the years when women first entered colleges and universities in large numbers.[1]

At stake in these debates was nothing less than the moral vision of the future leaders of the nation. Alice Freeman herself would reflect on the significance of American higher education in 1897: "'For Christ and the Church' universities were set up in the wilderness of New England; for the large service of the state they have been founded and maintained at public cost in every section of the country where men have settled . . . . Set as these teachers have been upon a hill, their light has at no period of our country's history been hid. They have formed a large factor in our civilization, and . . . have continually shown us how to combine religion and life, the ideal and the practical, the human and the divine." Indeed, the decades around 1900 witnessed the ever-increasing influence of college graduates on national politics, economics, and culture.[2]

Alice Freeman's educational quest illustrates how the widespread entrance of women into American higher education interacted with the debates of this time to shape the moral outlook of educators and collegians in unexpected ways. Freeman loved learning and sought out higher education at coeducational Michigan because she wanted to attend an affordable institution she knew would be of the highest quality rather than an untried—and more expensive—young women's college such as Vassar, recently founded in 1865. The oldest of four children, Freeman convinced her parents to let her attend college by arguing that it would best prepare her for teaching positions, one of the few occupations widely open to women. She could then earn the money needed to provide good educations for her siblings.

A few years prior, Freeman had experienced evangelical conversion while studying at a coeducational academy run by a Presbyterian pastor. At Michigan, Freeman continued her religious activities by serving as an active member of the coeducational Student Christian Association. Her religious and educational attainments subsequently recommended her to Henry Fowle Durant, the founder of a new women's college in Massachusetts, Wellesley (1875). The revivalist and former lawyer patterned his college after evangelical Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, the best education that had been available to antebellum women in a single-sex setting, and one that had pushed the boundaries of women's accepted sphere further than other similar institutions. Durant wanted Wellesley to provide students with a still higher, truly collegiate grade of education so as to best enable women to be of use to God in many new ways rather than gear their education toward specifically female types of work. He hired Freeman as a history professor in 1879, and then went further. In his eyes, Freeman possessed the

perfect combination of intellectual excellence and pious devotion needed to steward both his academic and his spiritual visions for the college. Therefore, in 1881 Durant put her forward to be the institution's second president—at the age of only twenty-six.

Like many young intellectuals, however, Freeman was transitioning to a more liberal Protestantism in the face of new challenges to literal readings of the Christian scriptures. These challenges included Darwinism, the historical criticism of the Bible, and a growing conviction that morality more than doctrine constituted the essence of religion. At the helm of Wellesley, Freeman would direct the institution along this course rather than the one its founder had marked out. The faculty she hired and the future presidents she had a hand in appointing would rearticulate the moral purpose of a Wellesley education in new terms. No longer did the college seek to form women equipped and motivated to spread a gospel message of individual salvation, in whatever area of life their individual talents and inclinations dictated. Instead, Wellesley sought to form women equipped and motivated to construct a godly social order, increasingly through the emerging female profession of social work. Whereas evangelism focused on righting an individual's relationship to God, social reform focused on righting relationships within the human community. Concentrating on the latter somewhat naturally led to more interest in formulating men's and women's roles within that community. Wellesley faculty believed that social work, unlike evangelism, drew on specifically feminine strengths, so this shift meant a new emphasis on distinctly female approaches to serving the nation. Men's education, now set against such approaches, would undergo a parallel transformation.

Freeman left the Wellesley presidency in 1887 to marry noted Harvard philosophy professor George Herbert Palmer. At their residence in Cambridge, Alice Freeman Palmer hosted many students from Radcliffe, Harvard's coordinate women's college. The Palmers even took in one such student, Lucy Sprague (Mitchell). Sprague later advanced to be the first dean of women at the University of California, from 1906 to 1912. She cited Alice Freeman Palmer as the chief inspiration for her program to create a female community at California dedicated to using the particular strengths of college-educated women to better the social conditions of the Progressive Era. From 1892 to 1895, Palmer herself, with her husband's blessing, had briefly left Cambridge to serve a similar role as dean of women at the recently established University of Chicago.[3]

The formation, evolution, and subsequent influence of Alice Freeman Palmer's religiously inspired educational philosophy thus winds through the development of three of the most prominent American universities of this

era—Michigan, Chicago, and California—and two of the most prominent women's colleges, Wellesley and Radcliffe. Through her husband, heavily involved in Harvard's Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), it arguably extended to that university as well. Yet though Alice Freeman Palmer is familiar to historians of women's higher education, her story is almost never included in larger narratives about the shifting religious and ethical outlook of American colleges and universities during this era.

Even though this well-studied shift corresponded with the advent of an entirely new type of student—women—the story that historians tell about this process is almost entirely a male one. Gender ideals rarely merit even a mention in historical accounts of this sea change in the moral purpose of American higher education. Standard synthetic accounts of the changing role of religion in American higher education do not include the role of women's colleges, nor do they consider the implications of the entrance of women into higher education on a broad scale during the exact decades when more and more leading colleges and universities abolished required religious instruction and worship—the 1870s through the 1910s. Similarly, work on the implications of the rise of the research ideal in higher education focuses almost entirely on prominent male college presidents and professors, and even then only rarely considers how the new throngs of women pushing through college gates may have affected their ruminations.[4]

We have therefore overlooked a significant aspect of these changes: the arrival of female students to the academy was a key factor in the creation of a new ideal of student moral and religious formation—for both men and women. This book tells that story. Doing so sheds new light on how higher education shaped American social change. The large-scale entrance of women into higher education during these years could have served as the basis for envisioning a more egalitarian social order where women and men worked side by side for the public good in all types of professional and volunteer activities. Instead, contrary to what present-day Americans might expect, the religious liberals who came to lead the men's, women's, and coeducational institutions of this era articulated the moral purposes of collegiate education in more gendered terms than had past evangelical leaders of antebellum men's colleges or that era's few top institutions for women. The new leaders thus more actively encouraged educated women and men to advance the public good in sex-specific ways.

These messages in turn shaped graduates' conception of the ideal American society and their roles in it at exactly the time when college graduates gained increasing social influence. In 1870, less than 2 percent of the American

population between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one attended college. By 1900, this fraction had more than doubled to 4 percent, and it would double again to 8 percent by the 1920s. Yet even this rapid growth does not tell the whole story: college graduates held national leadership positions in government, business, education, and Progressive reform movements quite out of proportion to their numbers in the wider population. Arguing for the significance of a college education, Dean Andrew West of Princeton observed during this era that college graduates made up 30 percent of the House of Representatives, 40 percent of the national Senate, almost half of the cabinet officers, half the U.S. presidents, and almost all of the Supreme Court justices. College graduates frequently filled positions within the Progressive movement outside official political channels as well. During the Gilded Age of the late nineteenth century, college did not routinely serve as the path to leadership in business, but during the Progressive Era of the early twentieth century, college leaders succeeded in winning over much of the business community to the value of college for the socialization and habits of thought that led to commercial success. Historically, college graduates had supplied many of the nation's doctors, lawyers, and ministers, but during this era the percentage grew even larger as more and more professional schools required a BA for admission.[5]

As male college graduates grew in prominence within the traditional male professions, female college graduates increasingly crowded fields populated largely by women. Palmer's involvement in the world of American higher education mirrored that of other women, who flooded into colleges and universities across the country during this period. Before the Civil War, very few colleges accepted women, but by 1870 women constituted 21 percent of the collegiate population, and nearly half by 1920. By the turn of the century, college-educated women dominated female professions: the vast majority of teachers, nurses, librarians, and social workers had at least some higher education, either at four-year colleges or at "normal schools" dedicated to teacher training. While most educated professional women served as teachers, educated women also constituted a notable number of the pioneers in the new field of social service. Most of the big names associated with the emergence of women's Progressive social campaigns—Jane Addams, Frances Willard, and Florence Kelley, to name a few—had higher education. Thus it was at just the moment when American higher education took on a greater role in forming the ideals and goals of leading women and men that educational leaders shifted their understanding of how best to carry out the traditional responsibility of colleges to transmit a moral vision to students.[6]

The story of the college experiences of this era's women and men carries implications for the way we narrate several key aspects of American life beyond the college gates. Historians of American political, economic, and cultural life too often overlook the critical importance of higher education to American life. This book reminds U.S. historians that higher education played a central role in shaping American politics and reform in the antebellum period and increasingly more so over the course of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. Furthermore, this narrative highlights the importance of women to envisioning the nature of that education, and hence that reform. In a similar manner, religious historians and historians of women and gender too often overlook one another. This book reminds religious historians of the connections between the nineteenth-century sea change in religious beliefs and the changing dynamics between men and women. Specifically—as is explored in more detail in chapter 1—this account alters our understanding of the extent to which American Protestantism can be said to have "feminized" over the course of that century. Finally, the tale this book tells calls for renewed attention by women's historians to the role of women's religious convictions in creating, and changing, a female reform culture of active engagement in the world beyond the home—and hence also in laying the groundwork for women's fuller civic participation secured by the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920. In short, this book analyzes the forces that transformed not only women's higher education, but also men's, with large consequences for the nation as a whole. It shows how the interaction among gender ideals, religious beliefs, and moral visions at U.S. colleges and universities proved critical to shaping conceptions of the ideal American society.[7]

The archives of five pairs of schools ground the story told and the arguments presented here. I selected institutional archives that would help retell the story of what is usually called "the secularization of higher education" by attending to how gender dynamics, largely ignored in such narratives, affected changing approaches to the ethical training of students. To point out what we have missed in plain sight, I chose nationally influential institutions that are the "usual suspects" in such narratives, plus representatives of leading women's colleges, which are almost always left out.

The first pair relate to the earliest movement of women into American higher education in the 1830s in single-sex and coeducational contexts, respectively: Mount Holyoke (1837) and Oberlin (1833). The other four form the source base for the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century changes to the moral aspects of the education offered at four types of schools. Old eastern elite colleges are represented by Princeton (1746) and Harvard (1636).

These sought to maintain their male identity by establishing the second type of institution considered—namely, their coordinate women's colleges, Evelyn (1887–1897) and Radcliffe (1879–1999). Newly established elite eastern independent women's colleges are represented by Wellesley (1875) and Bryn Mawr (1884). Finally, coeducational state universities are represented by Michigan (f. 1841, coed. 1870) and California (f. 1869, coed. 1870). Of the eastern schools, one in each pair is mid-Atlantic and the other in New England; the state universities represent the Midwest and the Far West. Additionally, the first in each pair began this time period from a more conservative religious perspective. Geographical diversity and diversity in the type of initial religiosity enables the exploration of commonalities as well as the range of differences among schools of similar types. Finally, this book focuses on prominent schools because they influenced the shape of other schools as well.

Not included in the source base are four significant types of colleges and universities: southern, Catholic, historically black, and institutions that retained an evangelical (or, later, fundamentalist) identity long into the twentieth century. This book considers the institutions that—for better or for worse—because of their national prominence set the parameters of the national discussion of how American women's and men's higher education should look. Southern schools did not figure prominently in this discussion during this era of upheaval in American higher education; the Civil War so devastated the South that the development of southern higher education lagged behind the North considerably in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Meanwhile, Catholic and historically black institutions provided alternative visions of the connections between higher education, religion, and the creation of a just society. I hope that this work will inspire further research into how the integration of women into higher education interacted with these visions as well.

The institutions included in this study were overwhelmingly white and Protestant during this time. Few elite private colleges of this era admitted blacks, although most admitted small numbers of Catholics and Jews beginning in the late nineteenth century. State universities were of necessity more inclusive but still dominated by the white Protestant mainstream. Somewhat greater ethnic and religious diversity would await the 1920s, although even then rising anti-Semitism would continue to limit full access to many prestigious institutions. Simultaneously, though, those Protestant institutions that insisted on a staunch evangelical identity thereby removed themselves from mainstream educational leadership by the early twentieth century. They therefore constitute a separate story. Nevertheless, diversity in how long the

book's representative institutions remained evangelical—and in whether they even started that way—allows for a meaningful assessment of what role evangelical versus modernist spirituality played in institutions' changing gender identity and style of moral formation.[8]

Chapter 1 sets the stage for the book's narrative by situating it in the broader context of American history and historians' debates about that history. This chapter considers the historic relationship between American higher education and Americans' civic participation, as well as the ways historians have sought to make sense of the changing role of religion in the former and its effects on the latter. The chapter then proposes a new way of thinking about these changes, and this new framework helps reveal the unexpected finding that religious liberals made more use of sex-specific ideals in articulating their moral vision than did religious conservatives. The chapter concludes with an overview of how the book uses this framework to make sense of the developing institutional identities of American colleges and universities, the moral visions they sought to impart to students, and the type of students they targeted—not only in terms of sex but also in terms of class.

The narrative then unfolds in three parts. The first part encompasses three chapters that tell the story of the earliest entrance of American women into higher education in the mid-nineteenth century. Chapter 2 examines how distinctions in religious belief factored into debates over the proper structure of single-sex women's higher education in the antebellum United States. It goes on to examine why Mount Holyoke's version won out and served as the model for the elite women's colleges established in the decades following the Civil War. Chapter 3 explores the way in which religious belief also shaped the structure of life and work at the first antebellum coeducational college, Oberlin, as well as how that structure evolved in the years after the war. Chapter 4 serves as a bridge to the widespread changes in higher education in the second half of the nineteenth century. It considers the origins of the University of Michigan in the 1850s and the role that Oberlin's model played in subsequent debates over single-sex versus coeducational higher education both there and across the nation during the next twenty years—debates embodied by the respective stances of Andrew Dickson White at Cornell and Charles William Eliot at Harvard.

The second part devotes six chapters to the administrations of single-sex and coeducational colleges and universities that emerged to national prominence in the late nineteenth century. Chapter 5 considers a classic example of an antebellum men's college that resisted incorporating women even as it sought to transition into a research university in the early twentieth century: Princeton. The chapter traces the Princeton administration's changing attitudes

toward the moral formation of its students from the college's inception through its development in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, and also investigates how these attitudes intersected with the experiment of extending that education to women in the 1890s at its short-lived coordinate college Evelyn. Chapter 6 traces the same arc at Harvard and its more successful coordinate college Radcliffe; the different religious priorities of these administrations made the Massachusetts story distinct from the New Jersey one. Chapters 7 and 8 then turn to the development of moral formation at independent women's colleges, represented by Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, from their founding in the 1870s and 1880s through the Progressive Era. Chapters 9 and 10 examine these dynamics at public state universities that admitted both women and men, namely, the University of Michigan and the University of California.

The final chapter then ties together the trajectories of all these schools by turning from their administrations to student voluntary religious organizations, particularly those of the immensely popular—and administratively favored—Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). These organizations generally reinforced the gendered moral ideals advocated by administrators, and this chapter explores how morally serious students within them by and large embraced the messages promulgated by administrators and faculty. The main narrative of the book closes at the entrance of the United States into World War I, by which point most scholars agree that the basic structures of the modern American college and university were in place.[9] A conclusion briefly takes the story through the end of World War I and the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment into the 1920s, and then reflects on the ground covered and its implications.

The book thus demonstrates how institutions of higher education navigated two simultaneous trends—a shifting approach to religion and the widespread advent of female collegians—by reorienting the moral messages they communicated to students in a more sex-specific direction. This change had a real effect on both students and the larger society. Without this reorientation, educated women might have joined educated men across the full spectrum of professions dedicated to serving the public good and thereby transformed American social relations in a more egalitarian direction. Instead, colleges and universities on the whole channeled women and men into different approaches to civic betterment, and graduates on the whole reified these approaches in Progressive Era society.

Chapter 1

Reorienting Righteousness

Toward a New Narrative of Gender and Religion in American Higher Education

Over the course of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the young American republic wrestled with the questions that would define its trajectory for the future. Arguably the most important question was who should participate in civic life and to what extent. From the early days of the republic, Federalists and Anti-Federalists, Jacksonians and Whigs debated the relative merits of more representative versus more democratic government. Were all white men, rich or poor, educated or not, equally qualified for the vote—for political office? What about for other positions of public influence, such as the ministry? Or did greater wealth—and hence greater investment in the nation's well-being—merit greater political representation? What about greater education: did it lead to a better ability to administer the nation's affairs, perhaps regardless of wealth or social station? For the most part, these debates remained confined to the rights and responsibilities of men, who alone possessed the vote and alone attended college.[1]

Indeed, college played an essential part in these debates over civic participation. Prior to the Civil War, most colleges embraced a uniform curriculum heavy on classical languages, mathematics, and philosophy, all intended to impart "mental discipline" and knowledge of those texts historically revered by cultural leaders. Heads of these institutions argued that this curriculum best prepared men for leadership in public affairs, either in

government or the professions. More democratic-leaning constituencies argued instead that the college curriculum ought to be made more "useful" to the average American: fewer dead languages and more technical training. Both sides considered colleges to be "public" institutions, but differed on how they ought to serve that public. Traditional college leaders believed they could best multiply the benefits of a college education through training an elite—in terms of talent, if not always wealth—for wise leadership at the local, state, and national levels. Others thought greater good would come to the nation if institutions designed to serve the public provided opportunities for improvement for men of all occupations and varying skill levels.[2]

The latter argument more easily lent itself to opening higher education to women. Indeed, state universities that adopted that philosophy were among the first to admit women in the 1860s and 1870s. A handful of democratic-minded private institutions had done so even earlier. The nineteenth century also witnessed the expansion of college education to other constituencies, such as African Americans, but whether and how to extend college education to women was one of the most hotly contested topics among educators of that era. That discussion gets to the heart of the debates about civic participation and the associated purpose of higher education.[3]

In most of the nation outside the race-haunted South—which lagged behind other regions in developing its higher education—the most fundamental civic divide was arguably that between men, who could vote, and women, who could not. The marriage of these two opposites formed the most basic unit of civil society: the family. Nineteenth-century Americans routinely thought in terms of the resulting public-private divide. Women's sphere was the family household and men's sphere was the world beyond. Civic health required proper attendance to both spheres. For the whole society to function properly, each part needed to do its work; divinely ordained biological differences sorted people into one category or the other. Some people justified women's exclusion from direct politics with claims about their inferior mental or emotional capabilities, but others believed their talents equal to men's, simply intended for use in a different area of life. Yet a tradition dating back to shortly after the Revolution linked the private sphere to the public by giving women an essential role in the polity as "republican mothers" who needed at least a basic education—and maybe even more—to equip them to train their sons in civic virtue. This concept extended to the influence wielded by childless sisters and aunts on the men in their lives.[4]

Educators' convictions about women's education—its desirability, its proper level, whether it should be single-sex or coeducational, and its rela-

tive priority within national life—thus correlated with their beliefs about how positive social change occurred. In particular, the manner of educating women differed with whether an educator believed such change came from the top down or the bottom up, through direct politics and the decisions of those in positions of power or through person-to-person influence and voluntary organizations.

Once committed to educating a particular sex, race, or class, each college then drew on its religious identity to ground its approach to preparing students for civic life. Most nineteenth-century American colleges began as religious institutions, and even state universities assumed they served a broadly Christian, mostly Protestant populace. Therefore, in keeping with tradition, they too included a religious component in the education they offered, often including required chapel and courses in Protestant doctrine and moral philosophy. Overall, religious convictions informed how colleges and universities shaped the curriculum and extracurriculum to provide students not only knowledge and skills but also the moral principles and character needed to relate rightly to other people and to God. Beliefs about whether the moral aspects of education ought to differ between men and women correlated with religious beliefs about what constituted individual and social salvation. Thus the vision college leaders cast for how graduates could best build up the body politic varied based on both their institution's religious commitments and on its constituency: the elite or the masses, whites or blacks, men or women.[5]

Examining the debates over women's higher education and the results of its widespread acceptance thus allows us to clarify the relationship among the questions that animated this formative period in American history: What did it mean to be an American? What did all Americans need to have in common and in what areas did various Americans need to differ in order for the body politic as a whole to function well? Was a person's role in society more safely determined by individual talent and inclination, by social standing, or by that person's membership in a biological group such as women, or whites? And what ultimately constituted a good life, for that individual and for the nation? Was a justly ordered community the primary concern, the one that made those who pursued it thereby righteous before God? Or was an individual's relationship with God the ultimate good, the one that then overflowed into pursuing just relationships?

As Americans asked and answered these questions, leading ultimately to the broad consensus of the Progressive Era, women's education was thick in the mix. In articulating how education related to citizenship, American educators of both sexes drew not only on their identity as women or men but also on their varying religious convictions. The educational paths they

proposed to achieve their moral vision crystalized around two questions: In relation to God and in relation to the body politic, what, if anything, did it mean to be a member of one sex or the other? And what did it mean to be an individual person with unique talents, desires, and training? The answers would shape both interactions between the sexes and the structure of American society.

The Need for a New Terminology

In order to grasp the interplay between the entrance of women into higher education and new ideas about the morally formative power of that education, we need a new way of talking about the changing role of religion in higher education: one that acknowledges its continuing presence and pays particular attention to its shifting effect on students. The disestablishment of evangelical doctrine in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century colleges and universities most commonly goes by the name of "secularization." This term is simultaneously useful and notoriously problematic. It accurately captures the dethroning of at least a certain type of religious outlook from pride of place within many educational institutions, but too easily implies the abolition of all religious elements from their education.

Thus under the capacious tent of secularization have traditionally fallen a number of changes to the role of religion on campus: not only abolishing chapel services and courses on Christian doctrine but also simply decreasing the frequency of required attendance at chapel, making chapel or doctrinal courses voluntary, or even an institution's formally disaffiliating from a controlling religious denomination while keeping its religious program relatively intact. Most controversially, secularization has been used to refer to a change in the nature of religious beliefs that a college transmitted through official channels when that change was designed to make the content of religious services or classes in some sense "vaguer" and hence accessible to a wider variety of students. Yet colleges often made many of these alterations with the express intention of making religion more appealing to students. Furthermore, administrators often consciously facilitated a robust extracurricular presence for religion by aiding voluntary student religious organizations.

Excellent scholarship over the last twenty years has sought to make sense of these complexities in the evolving role of religion in the academy by zeroing in on the most nebulous type of secularization, namely, the change to a more open or inclusive type of religion. This scholarship has established that most university administrators of this era were Protestant modernists of

some stripe who wanted to encourage that type of religious belief in students. After all, the first American research universities were odd hybrid organizations. On the one hand, they were institutions dedicated to the discovery of new knowledge through supposedly dispassionate research that precluded assuming any doctrines—religious or otherwise—at the start of the investigative process. On the other hand, they were institutions dedicated to shaping the next generation of the nation's leaders, a process that included not only transmitting inherited knowledge to students but also embracing some responsibility for their moral formation—and educational leaders of this generation continued to believe religion formed the basis of morality. The nature of Protestant modernism suggested new approaches to facilitating student religiosity that fit better with new philosophies of higher education than did previous evangelical ones.[6]

Modernist theology rose to prominence in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a means of reconciling Protestant Christianity with the new intellectual developments of the era. It was later reinforced, especially in education and in civic discourse, by the need to reckon with the increasing numbers of Catholic and Jewish immigrants in the decades around 1900. The evolutionary thinking inherent in Darwinism and the historical criticism of the Bible convinced many Protestant intellectuals that God was present in human culture, guiding it in such a way that religious understanding was developing over time; many historic Christian doctrines were therefore not sacrosanct. The essence of religion was thus not so much particular doctrinal beliefs as the ethical values and actions to which those beliefs pointed. Protestant Christianity, modernists believed, was the fullest expression of those values. That claim was, of course, itself a belief statement and modernists held other beliefs besides, such as the existence and benevolence of God.[7]

Still, the way Protestant modernists emphasized the ethical aspects of their faith helped shape a new university culture. For example, modernist educators often ceased to require or offer formal instruction in Protestant doctrine. At the same time, modernist de-emphasis on historic doctrine removed some potential religious roadblocks to endorsing modern science, especially modern biology. Modernist religion could thus continue to thrive in an academy that embraced new scientific developments. In turn, modernist assumptions carved out a wider space in the academy for Catholics and Jews: Protestant modernists focused more narrowly on the theism and ethical beliefs held in common with these faiths.[8]

Scholars of the secularization of the academy have teased out how the modernist privileging of ethics over doctrine influenced both the research

and teaching missions of the academy. One set of authors has focused on conscious changes by administrators and faculty concerned with building a position of authority for themselves and their institutions within the wider academy. Notably, George Marsden explains how the status of colleges as institutions designed to serve the public—that is, students from a variety of backgrounds—led leaders to insist that their theological position, and hence their school, was what truly constituted being "nonsectarian." Broad-minded evangelical college leaders in the mid-nineteenth century made this argument against smaller denominational schools. Then, at the turn of the century, modernist Christian scholars used it to take power from the broad evangelicals, and later in the twentieth century, secular scholars in turn used it against the liberal Christians. In a complementary analysis, Christian Smith highlights the earlier efforts in the Gilded Age and Progressive Era by secularists, and not just liberal Christians, to gain control of the knowledge-making power of the universities by actively working to marginalize the role of religion.[9]

A second set of authors has focused more on the ironies of history, the accidental consequences for religion of changes made to higher education for other reasons. Jon Roberts and James Turner explore how the positive impulse of disciplinary specialization—rather than any overt antagonism toward religion—cordoned off religion from its previous position as unifier of all knowledge. Religion thus became increasingly irrelevant to the university project, albeit unintentionally. In its place, many institutions attempted to use the rise of the humanities to substitute for lost religious instruction; courses in literature and art would build moral character by instilling in students an appreciation for "the true, the good, and the beautiful," grounded in values rather than in any particular doctrine. The distinction liberal Protestants made between the realm of facts and the realm of values midwifed this approach. Julie Reuben also maintains that university leaders did not purposely expunge moral and religious concerns from the undergraduate experience, but neither, she argues, did they whither from neglect. On the contrary, university leaders actively tried to make such concerns compatible with the academy's new emphasis on science. In the long run, however, transmitting religious and moral certainties proved unpredictably incompatible with an empirical scientific method that supposedly precluded suppositions of any sort. Science therefore pushed ethical questions beyond the formal curriculum into the extracurriculum. Knowledge separated from morality.[10]

David Setran explores how college administrators then turned to voluntary religious organizations, particularly the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA)—and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), although

Setran confines his analysis to the men's organization—to assume responsibility for students' moral and religious lives. He traces how theological changes within the organization—namely, a shift from evangelicalism to modernism—contributed to the ultimate secularization of the student experience. Setran argues that the "Y" shifted from a focus on transmitting theological beliefs to a focus on encouraging ethical action, eventually so much so that the theological beliefs became optional.[11]

Collectively, these works have thus made significant headway by employing the framework of a shift from religious beliefs to religious actions or attitudes as campus leaders moved from evangelicalism toward modernism. Using this framework, they have established not only the tension between a formal religious component to students' education and the advent of modern science and the research ideal but also the continuing presence of religion on campus. Thus the framework has proven quite helpful—much more so than any simplistic reading of secularization as the removal of religion—but it has weaknesses as well. Most notably, by implying a dichotomy between belief and action, it is vulnerable to the objection that all beliefs lead to actions and all actions spring from beliefs, and the further objection that both evangelicalism and modernism had distinct theological content and prescribed certain behaviors.

I therefore propose an alternate framework of "relational spirituality" for understanding the shift from Protestant evangelicalism to Protestant modernism and how it played out in student moral formation. Framing the changes of this era in a new way avoids the challenges of the belief-action dichotomy and also highlights two key phenomena. First, it gives us better categories for talking about the reality of the continuing presence of religion on campus during the decades around 1900. Though existing scholarship has established this critical fact, the full extent to which colleges and universities remained robust religious environments throughout the Gilded Age and Progressive Era can too easily get lost within the impression of declension that the standard secularization narrative implies. Second, and particularly critical for our purposes, this framework helps explain how gender ideals became intimately intertwined with student religious and moral formation as the nature of religion on campus changed.

The concept of relational spirituality incorporates the belief and the action components of both evangelical and modernist Protestantism by focusing on the relational aspects of religion, what I refer to as people's "vertical" relationship with God and their "horizontal" relationships with one other. It was in the context of these relationships that students could form a sense of identity as a person and as a man or a woman. Evangelicalism and modernism each

assumed that both people's relationship with God and their relationships with fellow humans were broken and in need of repair, and they each incorporated spiritual approaches oriented toward restoring relationships on both planes.

However, evangelicals emphasized vertical, God-oriented spirituality and modernists emphasized horizontal, interpersonal-oriented spirituality. Evangelicalism considered the break in the human-divine relationship the primary one: fix that and harmony on the interpersonal plane would follow because each person would have a new heart that wanted to obey God's laws. Hence, what was needed first was repentance and faith in Christ, which was to say "conversion" or "a decision for Christ." This conviction explains why evangelicals placed a greater emphasis on doctrine: relating rightly to an unseen being required thinking rightly about the nature of God. Modernism, meanwhile, considered the interpersonal break the primary one: the problem in people's relationship with God was that they had not obeyed divine commands about how to treat one another; fix that and the relationship with God would also be repaired. Hence, what was needed first was a new commitment to following Christ's teachings, often referred to as "a decision for the Christian life." This conviction is why modernists placed a greater emphasis on spelling out interpersonal ethics: getting that part of spirituality right was the real key to a righteous life in all respects. Thus modernists often constituted the prominent leadership of the "social gospel" movement dedicated to restructuring society along Christian principles, although some evangelicals also embraced the movement as an outworking of their faith in Christ, and many modernists interpreted interpersonal ethics in a more individualistic way.

In keeping with these broadly different relational orientations, evangelicals and modernists emphasized different doctrines about Jesus. Evangelicals stressed Christ's atonement as the means to repair the breach between humans and God, but the atonement was not as clearly necessary to repair the breach between people and their neighbors. Instead, the chief doctrine for modernists was the Incarnation—God working through human history, especially through Christ's ethical life and teaching, to perfect morality. Hence, evangelicals commonly referred to Christ as both "Savior and Lord," with the emphasis on "Savior," while modernists tended to drop "Savior" and speak of Christ as "Lord" or, more commonly, "Master."[12]

To maintain distinct labels for distinct concepts, I have chosen to use "evangelical" and "modernist" as umbrella terms for the Protestants in this narrative who emphasized vertical and horizontal spirituality, respectively. They should be understood in this work as terms denoting spiritual tenden-

cies or inclinations, rather than as rigid camps. Hence, "evangelicals" in my usage would include the strident antimodernists who would emerge as fundamentalists at the very tail end of this period. In a similar vein, "modernists" here would include those Matthew Bowman has alternately described as "liberal evangelicals" who retained a desire to "convert" people in a looser sense to a life of following Jesus. For similar reasons of precision, I have therefore reserved the term "conversion" for the evangelical understanding of the concept of the new spiritual birth received by asking God for forgiveness for sins on the basis of faith in Christ.[13]

Though they may seem esoteric, the distinctions between the two broad types of spirituality embraced by evangelicals and modernists had real significance when it came to changing approaches to shaping the next generation of American leaders. Large numbers of women arrived in colleges just as many—although not all—educators shifted from a focus on facilitating students' direct relationship with God to a focus on facilitating their ethical relationships within the community. Educators drew on their moral frameworks to incorporate the new female collegians into the larger purposes of collegiate education. When university leaders articulated personal identity primarily in relationship to God, a set of divine priorities for human behavior (believed to be revealed once for all time in scripture) could override some cultural assumptions about the proper roles of men and women. When, however, later leaders articulated personal identity primarily in relationship to the human community (which they believed God to be providentially directing toward a perfection only faintly perceived in scripture), the gender ideology of the surrounding culture loomed larger in determining the ethical life they laid out. In the decades around 1900, that surrounding culture placed significant emphasis on gender differences. Thus, contrary to what contemporary Americans would expect, theological liberals at that time generally emphasized training students for specific gender roles more than theological conservatives did.[14]

The analytic framework of relational spirituality also helps account for the subsequent flip represented in the late twentieth century when liberal Protestants embraced feminism, while many conservative Protestants did not (a fact that has caused many scholars to overlook the earlier state of affairs). The Christian scriptures contain some parts that affirm a level of equality between women and men that goes beyond that historically practiced in most cultures, but also some parts that seem to teach divinely ordained different roles for the two sexes—such as that men should lead the church and that women have special responsibility for nurturing children. Looking directly to God for wisdom on living, through a Bible believed to be divinely

revealed, would therefore produce either lesser or greater emphasis on gender differences than the surrounding culture, depending on the approach taken by wider society.

Finally, using these categories clarifies the significance of the more nuanced cases that arose as leading educators sought to impart meaning to the incorporation of women into the world of higher learning. Theological differences mattered a great deal, but so did commitment to educating a particular class of students or concern for gaining a national constituency. In general, the approaches to moral education taken by evangelical and modernist college leaders during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era fell into the recognizable pattern described above. However, exceptions could result from competing priorities. On occasion we find evangelicals who placed strong emphasis on the gendered aspects of student moral formation; for example, Princeton's President Patton believed that Christian conversion formed the basis of moral growth in both sexes, but he focused on inculcating in students the specific strengths associated with powerful men so as to secure an elite reputation for his institution. Conversely, not every modernist sought to educate men and women differently: the University of Michigan's President Hutchins communicated the coeducational institution's moral contribution in terms of its ability to facilitate greater integration of women and men together in public life. How educators of differing theological persuasions made use of both Godward and interpersonal spiritual formation in ways that sometimes cut against the grain therefore helps illuminate the range of ethical and pragmatic priorities jostling for prominence within this formative period of American higher education.

Institutional Identity and Student Moral Formation

In order to appreciate how the framework of relational spirituality helps us better understand these changes in higher education, we first need to distinguish between two distinct but related ways colleges and universities—men's, women's, and coeducational—sought to integrate the existence of widespread women's higher education into their moral visions. The first was a shift in institutions' self-identity, the way they understood their general purpose and marketed themselves to the outside world. The second was an altered approach to student moral formation.

Institutional identity shifted as colleges and universities that significantly altered the role of religion in the undergraduate experience had to make sense of this development for themselves and their constituencies. Some

people make radical change the center of their identity—such as those who undergo a dramatic conversion experience. Rare though is the institution that does likewise, completely repudiating its past and announcing, "I was blind, but now I see," making no effort to reconcile its new face with its old one. Rather, institutions tend to emphasize the elements of continuity in their history over those of discontinuity in order to maintain a coherent identity. Additionally, in the absence of required religious instruction or worship, colleges had to find a new way to talk about the moral import of college; parents did not want to throw their children into a den of godlessness and immorality, as some feared an institution devoid of required religious instruction and practice could too easily become.[15]

Before the Civil War, colleges' identity markers were mostly regional and often denominational—hence, for example, people thought of Princeton as a Presbyterian college in New Jersey, and it drew many of its students from that denomination and that state. Most other students at least shared its evangelical Protestant outlook and hailed from neighboring regions, such as the Upper South. After the Civil War, however, public demand for education more relevant to the American economic and social structure combined with the example of German higher education to create new research and multipurpose universities that competed with traditional colleges and each other. In this new and more nationalistic postwar educational environment, being denominational was increasingly considered sectarian and being regional was increasingly considered provincial. Institutions desiring to attract donors and students had to argue for their broad appeal and national significance. Many did so by emphasizing their denominational affiliation over their regional identity, thus drawing students of that denomination from across the country.[16]

Those colleges and universities that would become the top-tier trendsetters took a different approach. Women entered higher education in large numbers concurrently with the impulse to play down provincialism; their presence provided an alternate means for colleges to both emphasize continuity with their previous identity and simultaneously articulate a new one. Previously, being a "men's college" had not been an identity marker because almost all colleges had served only men. The sudden appearance of women's colleges and coeducational universities provided an alternate identity marker: now a college could market itself according to the sex(es) it served rather than its denominational or regional background. In the case of men's and women's colleges, this identity had always been present and provided a sense of continuity. In the case of coeducational state universities, the continuity came from administrators' argument that educating men and women together

constituted a natural outgrowth of the state university's historic—and, they noted, morally laudable—commitment to democracy: it served all the residents of the state.

This change in institutional self-conception in turn inflected the way in which colleges and universities altered their approach to student moral formation as they shifted from evangelical to modernist Protestantism. Schools did not merely reframe their evangelical or denominational heritage into a broad liberal Protestantism considered more intellectually viable or socially respectable. Rather, increased emphasis on the horizontal spirituality of ethical social behavior that characterized modernism often combined with institutions' newly sex-based identity to produce more explicit articulation of how those institutions trained women or men for gender-appropriate roles in society. Articulating the moral aspects of higher education in sex-based terms also solved another problem for late nineteenth-century colleges: with the advent of competing approaches to integrating women into higher education, schools had to justify their chosen approach, and that justification, to be effective, had to have moral weight.

Would leading colleges and universities still have made many of the same changes in the role of religion had women not entered higher education in the late 1800s? Yes, many of the relevant intellectual trends were independent of these events. However, leading colleges and universities—single-sex and coeducational—would not have done so in the same way, nor with the same effect on students and the surrounding culture. These effects are what we have missed by ignoring the implications of the gendered context of the debates over religion and morality that dominated American higher education during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

The significance of this context shines clearly when we trade the framework of "secularization" for the framework of shifting approaches to the relational aspects of Protestant spirituality. Students necessarily formed their sense of self in relationship to others, both the Deity and fellow men and women. Attention to the relational aspects of spirituality therefore highlights how what the university environment communicated about God and morality connected to students' self-understanding, including their gender identity. This self-image in turn helped graduates define their place within the civic community—say, either as a person called to spread the Christian message in any way indicated by her unique talents, or as a woman specially gifted by the nature of her sex and education to take a compassionate yet reflective approach to social service.

Narrative Overview

To appreciate how these changes both reflected and contributed to wider American ideals about gender roles and the project of civic betterment, it will help to provide a brief overview of the book's narrative of the development of American higher education during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This narrative focuses on the founding and evolution of trendsetting men's, women's, and coeducational institutions with a particular eye to the role of gender in their sense of identity and purpose and to how that sense connected with the way they sought to provide their students with moral direction.

The majority of higher educational institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century identified as broadly evangelical; accordingly, their chief moral concern tended to be facilitating students' relationship with God. Much of their intellectual and moral energy went into defining the particulars of what God was like and how rightly to relate to such a being. Chapel services and courses in Protestant doctrine grounded moral instruction over the course of a student's college career. The ethical implications of these beliefs then received sustained treatment in a senior moral philosophy capstone course. For the most part, the men's colleges that dominated this higher educational landscape did not angle their moral instruction to the particular needs or perceived calling of men in society. These institutions just assumed that it was men who would fill the positions of public influence, in both church and state, for which college prepared students; they did not devote a great deal of energy to articulating or defending this concept. Instead, men's colleges simply sought to form humans in right relationship with God, Christians who understood the basic moral implications of that relationship. They believed that those Christians would thereby properly carry out their particular responsibilities.

Meanwhile, the religious revivalism of the 1830s led to the founding of the two institutions that would supply the models for American women's colleges and coeducational universities, respectively: Mount Holyoke Female Seminary and Oberlin Collegiate Institute. Mount Holyoke opened in 1837 as the first permanently endowed institution of higher education exclusively for women. Though it did not begin with collegiate status (its curriculum lasted only three years), this school represented the highest education available to women at that time in a single-sex context. The same year Mount Holyoke opened, Oberlin admitted women to its AB program, making it the first institution to offer women a truly collegiate education.

Both these schools broke new ground in women's higher education because of their founders' commitment to what I call "evangelical pragmatism": the desire to educate as many people as possible, both male and female, as cheaply as possible, in order to equip them to evangelize the world and thus speed the coming of the millennial kingdom of God, a golden age of righteousness. This commitment to maximizing the number of students well-trained to carry out Christian work also led these schools' founders to structure their institutions in such a way as to admit not only women but also poorer students who could not normally afford higher education. In a rare move, at Oberlin this commitment also extended to welcoming African Americans. Because the desire to train as many people as possible to spread the gospel trumped all other concerns, the founders of Mount Holyoke and Oberlin innovated in order to successfully fund their institutions. Both schools employed manual labor by students to cut costs. Mount Holyoke's founder, Mary Lyon, violated gender norms by making unaccompanied fund-raising trips and violated fund-raising norms by primarily seeking small donations from average households rather than courting a few rich donors. Oberlin's founders pioneered coeducation because it was the cheapest approach to educating less wealthy youth of both sexes in the evangelical environment they envisioned.

Those who subscribed to the logic of evangelical pragmatism constituted only a subset of American evangelicals; most evangelical educators concentrated attention on men's higher education because of the widespread influence for good or ill that would be wielded by those trained to lead both church and state. Yet despite the relatively small numbers of evangelical pragmatists, they proved to have a disproportionate effect on women's educational reform. Liberal Protestant reformers such as Catharine Beecher and Horace Mann also pushed forward significant advances in women's higher education, but the passion-driven practicality of the evangelical pragmatists made them the most successful institution builders early on.

Institutions founded by evangelical pragmatists therefore set the pattern for the leading women's and coeducational institutions that arose shortly after the Civil War: elite women's colleges explicitly modeled themselves on Mount Holyoke and coeducational state universities modeled themselves on Oberlin. The approach of these two schools to student moral formation thus served as the baseline from which later women's colleges and coeducational universities would develop. Mount Holyoke and Oberlin acknowledged gender differences but did not emphasize them. The leaders of these two trendsetting institutions envisioned their graduates performing Christian work along the sex-specific lines endorsed by wider society: women would primarily

instruct children in the home and the schoolhouse while men served as preachers. These differences were maintained, however, more for practical reasons than principled ones. Doing so would be efficient; evangelism would meet fewer hurdles. Besides, evangelical pragmatists concurred that scripture supported the basic outlines of these gendered roles. However, their focus lay elsewhere, in advancing the gospel.

This focus on all people's responsibility directly to God for spreading the divine message meant that evangelical pragmatists also rethought some of the gender assumptions of their time. For example, Mary Lyon employed a curriculum not tailored to women's sphere so her graduates would have the proper mental training should God lead them along a less-traveled road. Likewise, Charles Finney, famous evangelist and Oberlin president, took the novel step of admitting women who wanted to preach into his graduate theology classes. Students at these institutions identified as Christians first and only then as men or women. They and their instructors accepted many gender norms of the day, but did not focus on them and were willing to abandon them if doing so better served the cause of spreading the Christian message.

Although evangelical pragmatism stood behind the creation of the models for the top women's and coeducational universities, it was an additional set of reasons that caused higher education for women to really take off in the years following the Civil War. By the time of the national crisis, public education had expanded such that more women had the secondary schooling that would prepare them for college. More schools also meant a need for more trained teachers, a position increasingly considered ideal for women. Furthermore, the political circumstances accompanying the Civil War allowed President Lincoln to sign the Morrill Act, which provided federal funds to state universities that would include agricultural and mechanical education in their curriculum. This expansion of higher training beyond the traditional liberal arts curriculum invited state universities to consider expanding it beyond the traditional male clientele as well. By the mid-1870s, most western state universities had done so, responding to a combination of voter demand and the need to attract sufficient numbers of students. In the East, which proved largely resistant to coeducation, several elite women's colleges had grown, often—though not always—still from religious roots: Vassar (1865), Wellesley (1875), Smith (1875), and Bryn Mawr (1884), the first four of the Seven Sisters.[17]

In the context of a newly competitive national market for institutions of higher education, the way in which different colleges and universities responded to this great expansion of women's higher education drew on both

the theological shift toward interpersonal spirituality and a new cultural anxiety over gender roles. The latter owed much to the economic and social changes that characterized the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. After the Civil War, new technologies enabled unprecedented industrialization and, with it, unprecedented urbanization. Immigrants also flooded the cities in unprecedented numbers to seek new jobs. The new economic system made some people wealthier than was ever imagined possible, while a growing number of city tenements overflowed with the starving poor. Genuine compassion for the suffering along with fear of potential class warfare combined in the middle class to produce the attempts to reform government, industrial practices, and personal behavior that came to characterize the Progressive Era, roughly 1890 through World War I.[18]

Meanwhile, industrialization, urbanization, and the growth of women's higher education made possible the "New Woman." The middle-class, native-born New Woman, freed by industrialization from many former obligations of household production, found a new cause outside the home in contact with the city poor. Residence in the city and attendance at college connected her with like-minded women. In keeping with the precedent set by antebellum women's benevolence societies, these women extended the Victorian cultural ideal of woman as the guardian of morality beyond its traditional application to the home. They formed a culture of clubs, settlement houses, and feminized service professions—such as teaching, nursing, and social work—that sought to alleviate the social ills associated with the new economy. Many New Women, particularly college graduates, remained unmarried and devoted themselves to such work full-time. These women kept their own homes or shared them with other unmarried women.[19]

Middle-class, native-born men experienced a parallel shift in ideals influenced by the new economic and social realities. Their fathers had owned businesses and proved their mettle in economic competition. They had fought in the Civil War or pushed back the frontier. With the rise of large corporations, however, the sons found themselves in permanent managerial positions doing far more routine and collaborative work. From their desk jobs, these men observed working-class immigrant men sporting superior physiques, the product of hard physical labor, while New Women pushed into the workforce and advocated for suffrage. Anxiety over the potential loss of their historic political, economic, and physical dominance led middle-class, native-born men to embrace a variety of potential remedies, from participation in athletics or the Spanish-American War to conceptualizing business competition in martial terms to advancing Progressive reform movements of their own.

President Theodore Roosevelt embodied this approach by urging men toward the "strenuous life" and decrying the "race suicide" brought on by educated women who refused to have children.[20]

Men's colleges made use of these ideals to create a nationally significant role for themselves in the wake of widespread acceptance of women's higher learning. When arguing for the moral significance of their education, men's colleges divested themselves of their earlier evangelical identity, now seen as parochial, and instead played up the more widely accessible interpersonal aspects of spirituality. Specifically, they began to stress components of moral formation specific to male social roles instead of inculcating the gender-neutral character traits earlier believed to enable all people to relate properly to God.

Men's colleges were almost always private and on average attracted a richer clientele than state universities, so they could make a compelling case that their education specially fitted students for a type of moral service reserved not only for men, but for elite men. Yet such colleges actually marketed themselves as elite in the meritocratic sense by extending scholarships to talented young men who could not otherwise afford their education. Regardless of their initial origins, graduates of such institutions would wisely direct cultural development from prominent positions of influence in government, business, and education. Donors and students bought into this vision because the product of a men's college was a desirable type of man—both morally and socially respected. Men's colleges implicitly claimed that their graduates would attain more positive influence on society than women, working-class men, and even many middle-class men who lacked a college education. Institutions such as Harvard that did not have to overcome an initial evangelical identity still used the same arguments to overcome their association with a particular region and make a bid for having truly national influence.

Meanwhile, women's colleges, many of which were founded from broadly evangelical motives and patterned after Mount Holyoke, also downplayed those roots and the type of gender-neutral Godward spirituality that went with them. Instead, they emphasized how their schools equipped women for sex-appropriate types of moral service to the nation. Previously, the few such schools had assumed that most women would enter fields traditional for their sex, but had not specified this. Rather, they understood themselves to provide women the mental and spiritual training they would need to be of use wherever God might lead them. With the shift in emphasis toward horizontal spirituality, many women's colleges increasingly specified the roles for which they trained women. Some specified the traditional and

comparatively private role of training children in the home or schoolhouse, but many others sought to open up a more public area of service for women. Faculty and administrators at women's colleges therefore increasingly sought to shepherd their charges into the new field of social work. Perceived as a caring occupation, this new field enjoyed wide support as one appropriate for women. Women's colleges thus attracted donors and students with the promise that their graduates could fill a position of particular significance in the project of creating the ideal Progressive society. Occasionally, this train of reasoning even led some administrators to the unusual position of specifying that the main moral contribution of female graduates was to integrate fields dominated by men so as to create a more just society.

Finally, coeducational state universities in many ways sought to be all things to all people, but also needed to be able to point to a moral component to their education to compensate for the godless reputation they could too easily earn as public institutions that claimed (however disingenuously) to favor no one religious tradition. Though some university administrators envisioned a fairly egalitarian society, when they expunged required chapel and doctrinal instruction from the curriculum, they nevertheless also shifted toward a more sex-specific moral formation, in their case, by moving ethical training into an extracurriculum increasingly segregated by sex. Historian Lynn Gordon has highlighted how women of this era formed communities within these universities that nurtured unique approaches to work in the world that challenged the culture of professionalism dominant among college men.[21] Attention to the religious convictions of administrators and students sharpens our understanding of these male and female collegiate subcultures.

The widely popular YWCAs and YMCAs dominated student voluntary religious life, and much of student social life as well. To appear simultaneously moral and nonsectarian, university administrations outsourced religious instruction to these associations. In turn, these associations sought to woo students by meeting needs such as freshman orientation, student housing, and free meeting space. In an era before student life professionals, university administrators were only too happy to let them do so. As a result, a large percentage of students came into contact with the Ys, as they were known, by using their services or attending meetings and events they hosted. These religious organizations, as well as deans of women and men, all increasingly emphasized interpersonal over Godward spirituality and accordingly articulated to their charges sex-specific visions of how women and men could use their education to serve their communities. Thus coeducational institutions too proved to be an environment that channeled graduates of this era into male and female areas of service, and Y chapters at single-sex institutions

increasingly reinforced the bent of the administration toward gendered moral formation.

A couple of nuances to this overall pattern are worth noting. The first concerns a feedback loop effect. In some cases, philosophies on the social utility of educating men versus women directly contributed to the shifting approach to spirituality, which then in turn affected the extent of gendered moral formation. For example, men's colleges sought to garner donations and build a national constituency by marketing to businessmen; this motivation accelerated their shift toward emphasizing horizontal spirituality because its gendered components played well to potential donors. A second, related nuance concerns how a gender ideal and spiritual approach combined to help form institutional identity. In a few institutions, a shift toward horizontal spirituality led to reorienting an institution's identity around the sex that it served, but not to more gendered moral formation. For example, Bryn Mawr president M. Carey Thomas proved far more sympathetic to interpersonal spirituality than to Godward spirituality. Yet she took this emphasis on social morality in a direction somewhat unusual for the time. Thomas understood Bryn Mawr's moral contribution to be producing the type of educated women who consciously dedicated themselves to creating an egalitarian world by breaking down traditional barriers to women's full participation in society.

Protestant Feminization and the Bottom Line

Retelling the narrative of the changing role of religion in the academy with attention to gender also sheds new light on the process religious historians call "the feminization of American Protestantism." On the one hand, as historians such as Ann Braude, Catherine Brekus, and Harry Stout have established, there was no feminization of American Protestantism in the most literal sense. The ratio of female to male American Protestants did not change substantially over the course of the nineteenth century; women have remained in a solid majority from the colonial period to the present. Likewise, through the early twentieth century, Protestant denominations (Quakers excepted) continued to reserve official positions of power, such as minister or elder, for men. On the other hand, historians have established that the nineteenth century witnessed the rise of organized Protestant women's activism on behalf of various benevolent causes, often in the name of maternal values arising out of the century's new domestic ideology. These women's groups arguably expanded women's power and influence within Protestant churches. In addition, religion came to be associated with women in a new

way. In many cases, Protestant doctrine lost some of its Calvinistic hard edges and became gentler and sentimentalized, traits that in turn came to be associated with women during the concurrent rise of the domestic ideal. In other words, as women's organized activism grew, Protestants spoke with a more feminine theological voice.[22]

This book's narrative calls into question the extent of this second type of feminization and changes its periodization. The early nineteenth-century expansion of women's higher education—and concomitant church and professional opportunities—did not neatly correlate with a new, "feminized" approach to religion grounded in maternal values. In general, the most successful Protestant educational reformers of this era leaned toward vertical spirituality and tended not to emphasize distinct roles for the sexes (although they embraced some basic differences). Hence when reformers of this type, particularly the evangelical pragmatists, expanded women's education, they were not "feminizing" American Protestantism. Rather, these Protestants would more accurately have been seeking to "equalize" American Protestantism. They wished to open up more roles to more people rather than transfer authority for some aspects of the faith to women because they were women, assumed to have unique traits that made them fit for such roles. To the extent that women in these institutions imbibed the outlook of their leaders, they would have seen the situation similarly.

Then again, the later phase of establishing mature women's and coeducational higher education sometimes was an arm of intentional feminization, but it was met by an equal and opposite arm of intentional masculinization. In the decades around 1900, Protestant modernism prevailed among educational reformers. Consequently, they leaned toward horizontal spirituality and showed greater interest in facilitating specific gender roles. Widespread cultural anxiety about men's roles led many Protestant men to suddenly see a problem—in women's numerical dominance of churches and their extension of "home values" through voluntary or paid work—where few had seen a problem before. These men's efforts to market top men's colleges, or even state universities, as locations that trained society's elite male leaders was part of their self-conscious attempt to masculinize Protestant efforts at social reform. It was also a statement about where the robust work of Christianity took place. Many female educational reformers would argue, however, that educated women rather than men best carried out Christianity's most important work—in their opinion, social service. Less-contentious advocates of a horizontally oriented spirituality would simply claim that women and men had unique, complementary work to do in the world for which top-quality

education prepared them both. Thus, at least among educators, Protestantism did not so much "feminize" over the course of the nineteenth century as it later "gendered" over the course of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era. The reason, however, was not a new presence of female voices—those had been on the scene before the Civil War. Rather, it was a new theological approach that emphasized the distinct nature of male and female voices.

Turning back to implications within the history of higher education itself, incorporating gender into our narrative of the changing role of religion in the academy also clarifies the financial issues at play in the developments of these critical decades. Where educational institutions chose to put their money revealed their priorities and hence their moral visions. Over the course of this era, notable patterns and variations emerged in the connection between an institution's gender identity and its commitment to extending education to less-wealthy students. Sustaining an institution on the scale of a college or university required a lot of cash. Furthermore, many institutional needs competed for those funds: salaries for the best professors, laboratories for the latest science, and buildings to house classrooms and students, to name only a few. Expanding the constituency for college education—to women, or to poorer students, for example—required still more resources to sustain more professors, buildings, and administration. Meanwhile, poor students did not bring in much more tuition, nor did women admitted to low-tuition state universities. Colleges and universities would therefore only open their doors to these types of students either from a deep-seated conviction, or from a belief that, in the long run, including those students would actually strengthen the institution financially, thereby aiding other goals.[23]

The models for the thriving women's colleges and coeducational state universities of the latter nineteenth century had admitted both women and poorer students out of a particular religious conviction. The evangelical pragmatism that lay behind Mount Holyoke and Oberlin dictated that their founders do whatever it took to spread the gospel. In theory, an institution could maximize the number of people who heard the gospel either by converting highly influential people or by equipping as many people as possible to transmit the message. Evangelical men's colleges took the former approach, but the practical impulse to pursue all potentially helpful means to spreading the gospel led evangelical pragmatists to the latter approach. They therefore sought to equip more people to effectively preach (in the case of men) or teach (in the case of women) their understanding of Christianity. This goal, in turn, meant extending the religious and mental training provided by higher education to new groups of people. Additional motivation to make higher

education affordable came from the fact that the founders of both institutions believed hardworking people without much discretionary income actually made better carriers of the Christian message. Liberal Protestantism too could achieve its goal of godly cultural change either from the top down or the bottom up; in practice, private single-sex colleges generally took the first approach, while state universities generally took the second. The class as well as the sex of students targeted by each type of institution reflected this dichotomy.

Some commitment to affordability carried over to the early years of the eastern women's colleges patterned on Mount Holyoke, but their subsequent religious liberalization weakened it. Wellesley College originally kept tuition low for the same reason as Mount Holyoke: it wanted to expand the number of people prepared to spread the gospel. Bryn Mawr College, however, targeted richer women on the theory that they would be more influential and hence have more ability to spread the Christian message. Yet the evangelical Quaker convictions of its founder also prevented too strong an emphasis on the rich. Joseph Taylor planned a building design, and even a dress code, meant to minimize ostentation and make the school environment congenial for those who were less well-off. When these women's colleges abandoned evangelical Protestant doctrine, their priorities shifted. No longer was the call so compelling to extend higher education to as many people as possible in order to spread the gospel further. Without this motivation, other moral priorities loomed larger, such as ensuring the highest quality academics to best equip students for effective service. These institutions reapportioned their spending accordingly; tuition went up and the campus environment changed so as to be more attractive to richer students and donors.

State universities that chose to admit women retained throughout this era Oberlin's emphasis on affordable higher education, but from an outworking of their founding commitment to serve all the citizens of the state rather than from an evangelical rationale: State universities in the late nineteenth century were particularly concerned to avoid any sectarian appearances (as distinct from adherence to generic Protestantism). As taxpaying women newly demanded access to state-funded higher education, admitting them to preexisting state universities made good financial sense; establishing a separate institution to meet the growing demand for women's higher education would have been prohibitively expensive. Additionally, the influx of female students sometimes opened state coffers wider on the argument that the school now served more citizens.

Although no longer the primary motivation that it initially had been for Oberlin, religious conviction played a supporting role in opening state edu-

cation to women. Most educational leaders agreed that liberal Protestantism was not sectarian, so this strand of Christian belief could bolster state universities' commitment to coeducation. The liberal Protestant version of Oberlin's rationale for extending higher education to as many people as possible claimed that doing so would aid the progress of Christian civilization by equipping more people for better service to the civic community, rather than specifically for spreading a classically conversion-oriented gospel message.

This argument could in theory have convinced the liberal Protestant leaders of private men's colleges to extend their education to women as well, but for the most part it did not. Their evangelical predecessors at these institutions had not emphasized gender-specific moral formation, but neither had they pioneered in admitting women into their long-standing men's colleges. Rather, they had believed their usefulness consisted in converting and training highly influential people, who happened to be men. In an era characterized by institutional pursuit of national-level prominence, their liberal Protestant successors sought both funds and prestige by remaining in this vein and indeed deepening it. While liberal Protestantism too could achieve its goal of realizing the ideal Christian civilization either from top-down or bottom-up cultural change, these colleges contended that such change occurred most effectively from the top down, and that prominent public positions reserved for men constituted the top. Rather than admit women, they marketed themselves as institutions specifically designed to instill the traits characteristic of the elite men who would diffuse moral influence from positions of social power. Nevertheless, as longer-established institutions with deeper fund-raising wells, many elite men's colleges retained their commitment to providing scholarships for less well-off students capable of rising into an elite dominated by wealthier men.

Meanwhile, to rechannel the drive for coeducation, many of these men's colleges established coordinate women's colleges. Poorer in resources than independent men's or women's colleges, coordinate colleges often could not afford to extend their education to less-affluent students. The policy of men's colleges to segregate women on a different campus thus had the effect of constraining the educational opportunities available to poorer women. The gendered moral visions of American higher educational institutions not only sought to shape their graduates' approaches to social reform; they also circumscribed who had access to the training that would enable them greater power over the direction of American society.

Conclusion

How American educators approached the question of higher learning for men and women, respectively, revealed much about their convictions regarding what constituted the good life, both for the nation and for its individual citizens. Their convictions mattered because college and university leaders served as nodes of American culture: wider cultural norms influenced their views, and their views in turn fed back to reshape such norms through how they trained the cultural leaders of the next generation. Drawing a straight line from students' college environments to their behavior after graduation is notoriously difficult, but available evidence indicates that ethically minded undergraduates of both sexes generally fell into line with the types of moral service toward which their leaders encouraged them. Their broad patterns of employment and activism throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries likewise reflected the messages they would have heard in college.

These messages changed over time. As leading colleges and universities shifted from Protestant evangelicalism to Protestant modernism, they also shifted from defining moral life primarily in relationship to the Deity, to defining it primarily in relationship to the human community. As a result, institutions newly sought to consciously foster conformity (or, in a few cases, opposition) to the gender ideology of the surrounding culture as an essential aspect of student moral formation. In fact, this gendered service and character ideal often became in a new way the defining feature of the ethical message universities and colleges communicated to students. Leading institutions needed to make a name for themselves in an environment of competing men's, women's, and coeducational colleges and universities, and emphasizing a distinct denominational identity now limited an institution's reach. As the identity of the sex or sexes it served became central to an institution's collective sense of self, it also became central to its message about how its graduates would influence society. This phenomenon helps explain how male and female college graduates—leaders in Progressivism—contributed to the creation of distinct, gendered cultures of reform.

This narrative provides fodder for reflection concerning today's diverse higher educational landscape. Moral messages have real effects on students' personal development and subsequent civic participation, and all college environments communicate some type of moral message. Where colleges put their money is part of the moral message they communicate. The types of students they actively seek out is part of that message. How college administrators believe positive social change occurs will shape the environment they

foster. Critically, the messages colleges send about the nature of God and ultimate values—and about whether those are even important questions to ask—will necessarily affect how students understand themselves to relate to the rest of human society. Finally, trade-offs are evident in the different college environments that result, in particular between those that encourage students to put much of their identity in one or more specific groups—for example, race, gender, or, yes, religion—and those that attempt to minimize the importance of one or more of those identities in favor of an individual's uniqueness or a common humanity.

Part 1

Women Enter Higher Education, 1837–1875

Chapter 2

Ideological Origins of the Women's College

Catharine Beecher, Mary Lyon, and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary

In 1828, as the movement to improve educational opportunities for American women was gaining in prominence, Catharine Beecher approached first Mary Lyon, and a year later Lyon's associate Zilpah Grant, to join her as instructors at Hartford Female Seminary in Connecticut. Consonant with the era of optimistic reform in which she lived, Beecher believed Hartford could change the world, so she wanted the most well-known female educators on board. The key to Hartford's influence was to be the type of students it attracted. Beecher wrote to Grant that a "woman of piety and active benevolence, with wealth which enables her to take the lead in society, can do more good than another of equally exalted character without it." Lyon and Grant both declined.[1]

In 1836, Lyon wrote to Beecher for support in establishing Mount Holyoke Female Seminary in Massachusetts. Mount Holyoke, she believed, could change the world, so she wanted an educator as famous as Catharine Beecher on board. The key to Mount Holyoke's influence was to be the type of students it attracted. Lyon wrote that the class of small independent farmers "contains the main springs, and main wheels, which are to move the world." Beecher likewise demurred.[2]

Although Beecher and Lyon had similar religious and educational backgrounds, a combination of childhood socioeconomic differences and adult theological differences led to disagreements regarding which class of women

was most important to educate, what social roles these women should be trained to play, and what curriculum would best accomplish this purpose. These disparities in turn ultimately contributed to Lyon's superior success as an institution builder, making her liberal arts curriculum rather than Beecher's more vocational one the choice of the premier women's colleges that would follow in the decades to come. Yet, over time, these later colleges came to share Beecher's proclivities toward educating wealthier women along more liberal religious lines rather than Lyon's preference for educating women of modest incomes along more conservative religious lines. Thus a new model of women's education emerged in the decades around 1900: a hybrid of the two reformers' visions.

Beecher's and Lyon's seminaries, three-year schools offering a curriculum slightly less rigorous than men's colleges, reflected a growing interest in women's education nurtured by both the political and economic realities of the 1820s and 1830s. Widespread concern for the need for virtuous, knowledgeable citizens to populate the young republic supported belief in "republican motherhood," the idea that women contributed to civic society by properly educating the young. Women thus required quality education in turn. In addition, increasing commercialization—the "market revolution"—led the rising middle class to seek more schooling for their daughters. Greater education provided social distinction and the ability for unmarried women to weather an uncertain economy by earning money as teachers. The participation of women in this era's seminary (also called academy) instruction—which came in men's, women's, and coeducational varieties—constituted a significant jump in the educational opportunities available to American women.[3]

The most advanced women's seminaries also provided models for the founders of the first widely respected women's colleges, the Seven Sisters, the first of which were founded in the 1860s and 1870s. The other exemplars were, of course, men's colleges; the contentious question was how to fit collegiate education, a traditionally male domain, to women. Differences in curriculum and educational philosophy among the top women's seminaries therefore mattered a great deal when these college founders began to pick and choose among them: the public mind linked the resulting eastern women's colleges with the most elite men's colleges, also eastern, so in popular perception the Seven Sisters would come to represent the epitome of women's education. Even at coeducational universities, women's deans as well as female faculty and students patterned their identities after their counterparts at these women's colleges.[4]

During the period leading up to the founding of the first permanent women's colleges, Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon developed the two

most articulate programs for the nature of women's higher education. The earliest female academies had fused liberal studies with training in domestic arts and feminine graces. Beecher and Lyon then developed more-articulated educational philosophies that took this fusion in different directions. Contrasting the educational philosophies of the two women reveals that the Seven Sisters' decision to copy the liberal arts curriculum of elite male colleges was not a forgone conclusion, and neither were their high price tag or the moral messages they communicated to students. Their curriculum, the student population they targeted, and the ways they encouraged women to use their education resulted from the ferment of ideas about gender, theology, and class generated by debates among Lyon, Beecher, and other female educational reformers in the middle of the nineteenth century. Exploring the formation of these ideas clarifies the ideological choices made in the design of American women's colleges—and their long-range implications.[5]

The Two Visions

Both Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon came from a rural, middle-class evangelical background and wanted to provide women a larger place in the great task of reforming the nation by furnishing them with an education as good as men's. Catharine Beecher, one of the most prominent and vocal advocates for improved women's education, was the eldest daughter of the well-known Congregational minister Lyman Beecher. She founded Hartford Female Seminary in 1823 and Western Female Institute in 1833. She also participated in the establishment of Milwaukee Female College in 1852. None of these institutions lasted; the first two folded in the 1830s and the last merged with another school in the 1890s. Beecher is thus better known to posterity for publishing the manual *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* in 1841 and for her roles until her death in 1878 in advocating both women's education and the ideal of domesticity—roles in which she traveled extensively and wrote prolifically. Meanwhile, during the 1820s and 1830s, Mary Lyon taught at various transient women's seminaries and consulted on the establishment of Wheaton Female Seminary (later, College) in Massachusetts in 1835. That seminary emerged as a blend of her vision with that of the founding family. In 1837, Lyon then opened her own institution: Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (later, College), the first permanently endowed higher educational institution exclusively for women.[6]

Despite the similarities between Beecher and Lyon, the two women's divergent theological views and childhood experiences ultimately produced

quite different educational visions. Four differences stand out. First, Beecher envisioned salvation primarily in terms of horizontal spirituality, namely, repairing human social relationships, which would then please God. In contrast, Lyon envisioned salvation primarily in terms of vertical spirituality, namely, repairing the divine-human relationship for each person, which would then enable better human relationships as well. Second, Beecher thought women were uniquely called to sacrifice for the greater good; Lyon believed men and women shared this responsibility equally. Third, Beecher believed positive change best occurred from the top down, while Lyon believed it best occurred from the bottom up. Beecher consequently focused on wealthier women, whom she deemed more influential, while Lyon wanted to extend opportunity to poorer women, whom she considered more productive. Finally, although Beecher continues to be held up as an advocate of liberal arts curriculum for women, what actually set her apart from reformers such as Lyon was her additional emphasis on professional training for the female tasks of homemaking and teaching that was comparable to the professional training for male tasks such as medicine or law. Lyon, in contrast, envisioned an education where women would receive the same liberal arts training as men, while relegating distinctly feminine pursuits to the extracurriculum.[7]

Still, both Beecher and Lyon worked within the gender expectations of their native New England, which by the 1820s were coalescing into an ideology that glorified the home as the sphere of women. Religious beliefs justified the ideal of domesticity: women's God-given moral superiority made it fitting for them to act as primary instructors of children, and necessary for them to eschew the cutthroat business world outside the home—lest they be contaminated. This conviction enabled a division of labor whereby middle-class mothers could intensively raise sons to give them a competitive advantage in the emerging marketplace. Many women used this language, however, to carve out a place for themselves within the myriad moral reform activities popular in the early nineteenth century by claiming that the motherly nurturing instincts of both married and single women ought to extend beyond the home. Particularly compelling was the case for training women as schoolteachers: if created to be the instructors of children within the home, should they not also instruct children in schools?[8]

Catharine Beecher seemed to embody this union of religion, domesticity, and educational reform; by focusing on women's difference from men rather than on the similarity of the sexes, she reinforced the ideology of separate spheres. Through her schools, books, and speeches Beecher sought to elevate the social position of women by publicizing the idea that mothers and female teachers—even more than male ministers—were the true moral

guardians of society, a role that should be dignified with professional training. This conviction sprang from a prolonged but ultimately unsuccessful attempt to experience evangelical conversion to please the father she revered, who nevertheless believed his particularly bright daughter was destined for greater things than the average woman. She resolved the resulting inner conflict by rejecting his form of Christianity—which emphasized a particular moment of conversion to faith in Christ experienced under the preaching of a male minister—and leading a public life advocating an alternative Christianity in which children were gradually nurtured into a mature moral character and trust in God by mothers and female teachers.[9]

As part of this vision, Beecher argued not only that the teaching career ought to open to women, but that it should become entirely female. Women, she claimed, were better suited temperamentally than men to instruct children. Further, single women like her needed meaningful work, and teaching was the only career available to them within the usual bounds of propriety. She also believed that in order to ensure children the best possible teachers, this newly minted female occupation should become a profession of "wealth, influence, and honor." For Beecher, the elevation of women—within their carefully delineated sphere—was tantamount to the salvation of the world.[10]

The salvation she envisioned consisted in large part of achieving social stability through blurring class distinctions. As the daughter of a famous Connecticut minister, Beecher had belonged to the rural middling class of prosperous small farmers and professionals, yet constantly mixed with influential people. Her personality, combined with this upbringing, led her to crave acceptance by the social elite wherever she went, and her idea of the role of women justified this social climbing. She called on women of all classes to sacrifice activity outside the home and the schoolhouse in order to pour all their energies into a moral influence on the next generation. The resulting uniform character formation would create cross-class values that would soften social competition, and the work shared by women would give the classes a common interest. As a nice side benefit, women who became teachers—such as Beecher—deserved the wealth and prestige that would place them among the upper echelons anyway. Consonant with her social aspirations and belief in top-down change, Beecher at first tried to attract to her school the daughters of the most prominent citizens because she believed they would prove more influential in disseminating her ideas. In later years, she sought to educate rich and poor together to achieve class unity, but continued to rely on the rich to publicize and fund her endeavors.[11]

Mary Lyon also combined religion, domesticity, and educational reform, but in a mixture with different implications for both women's curriculum

and middle-class identity. Lyon adhered to the New Divinity stream of evangelical Christian thought popular in the rural Massachusetts of her youth and made attractive by an influential teacher, Joseph Emerson. New Divinity asserted that the highest virtue was willingly to sacrifice one's personal happiness for the greatest good of the whole. This idea, known as "disinterested benevolence," was one of the engines powering the burgeoning foreign missions movement as well as the many domestic reform societies of the early nineteenth century.[12]

Two key differences separate Lyon's theological beliefs from the otherwise similar convictions of Catharine Beecher. First, the New Divinity conception of benevolence looked toward conversion. In his famous extreme formulation of disinterested benevolence, theologian Samuel Hopkins challenged Protestants that they ought to be willing to be damned for the glory of God, and for the greatest good of the whole. Adherents to New Divinity theology defined "greatest good" primarily in terms of the number of people converted to evangelical Christianity, which to them meant eternal salvation for each convert. They also believed that better social relations would only follow once multitudes of Americans became rightly related to God in this way; nurture and instruction were not enough to instill truly good moral character.[13]

Second, disinterested benevolence had no gender. Lyon and other New Divinity adherents did not believe women to be morally superior. Beecher called on only women to sacrifice their personal interests for the good of society; Lyon's New Divinity theology made equal demands on both sexes, although men and women fulfilled them in different ways through their different social roles. Disinterested benevolence was at once practical and idealistic: it demanded that adherents of either sex do whatever it took to contribute to the all-important end of converting the world, even if at times it might defy accepted propriety or strain some social relationships. This logic constituted a sort of "evangelical pragmatism," and it led Lyon to emphasize women's identity as persons responsible to God more than their identity as women per se.[14]

In keeping with this logic, Lyon, like Beecher, argued for gendering the teaching profession female, but for different reasons. Lyon wanted single women to carry the responsibility for education, not because of superior nurturing abilities but because of "the many public demands on the time of benevolent, educated gentlemen, and the comparatively few demands on the time of benevolent, educated ladies." Women should take over one of the few fields open to them: if women evangelized schoolchildren, they would free men to convert others. Lyon sought to maximize the usefulness of both

male and female evangelicals; Beecher sought to carve out a special position of prestige for women within society.[15]

Although not all New Divinity educators agreed, Lyon passionately believed the class of small independent farmers, rather than the elite, would energize positive change for the nation and the world. Her sympathy for what she called "the middle classes of society" derived from her own experience. Lyon was born into a rural New England farming family in 1797. Her father died when she was young; through thrift, hard work, and domestic skills, her mother, with help from Lyon's older brother, kept the small, self-sufficient farm afloat. Money had been tight, however, and Lyon struggled to afford an education. In fact, she perfectly represented the lower end of historian Nancy Beadie's definition of the rural middle class: "property owners who relied on their own household labor for production." Lyon's parents were model evangelicals, and she connected their faith with their hard work. Given her convictions about this class's potential, evangelical pragmatism demanded that she train these women to reach the world for Christ, and she wrote: "My thoughts, feelings, and judgment are turned toward the middle classes of society. . . . To this class in society would I devote . . . the remainder of my strength." Expanding high-quality education to a class that had not yet been able to afford it also meant increasing the number of people educated to spread the gospel message clearly.[16]

When Lyon referred to the middle classes, she effectively meant something like what we would term today the "lower middle class," while Beecher, the daughter of a prominent professional, thought of more or less the "upper middle class." At the same time, Lyon did not include working-class immigrants in her schools, and Beecher did not cater exclusively to the rich. Still, within the broad middling class of self-sufficient farmers and professionals, Lyon and Beecher aimed their efforts at opposite ends of the spectrum.

These differences in theological and social background influenced curricular choices. The practical orientation of New Divinity aligned Lyon with educational reformers who opposed the popular "ornamental" style of women's education. This approach sought to make young women into good society wives by teaching them the parlor arts of music, dance, drawing, embroidery, needlework, and French. Instead, New Divinity educators offered a liberal arts curriculum, believing it would provide young women with the breadth of knowledge and critical reasoning powers needed to serve God well, as either mothers or female teachers in the common schools. Indeed, these reformers often repudiated what they saw as social-climbing ornamental subjects altogether. They also urged conversion on students so graduates would in turn pass on the gospel to their future students or offspring.[17]

Similarly, the convictions Beecher formed on the proper school environment and curriculum for young women during her tenure at Hartford Female Seminary in the 1820s sprang from the marriage of her social background—middle-class evangelical roots with upper-crust aspirations—and her peculiar religious ideas. Beecher agreed that women required a rigorous liberal arts curriculum to develop the mental discipline needed to excel as mothers and teachers, but she also desired to teach them the social graces standard in women's education at the time. Additionally, because she sought to make homemaking and teaching into professions as prestigious as men's, Beecher added formal instruction in such skills as proper use of a needle and techniques of clothes making. Meanwhile, she ceased trying to foster school revivals, as she lost confidence in this approach to Christianity and feared the divisions it involved would undercut her project to make women a unifying force in society. Attempting to induce a right relationship with God in this way would potentially harm the good human relations Beecher believed to be God's ultimate concern. In place of conversion, she therefore sought to develop a system of character formation. Thus, a mutual focus on quality liberal arts education masked more fundamental differences between Lyon and Beecher.[18]

Early Incarnations of Beecher's Educational Vision

As noted earlier, a fortuitous pair of events clarifies the implications of Beecher's and Lyon's similar yet competing educational visions: early in their careers, each attempted to enlist the support of the other camp, but to little avail. In the summer of 1828, Beecher tried to convince Mary Lyon to join her as a teacher at Hartford Female Seminary, where Beecher was principal. Lyon declined out of devotion to teaching with friend, mentor, and fellow New Divinity educator Zilpah Grant at Ipswich Female Seminary in Massachusetts, where the latter served as principal. The following summer, Beecher sought to secure the services of Grant as associate principal of the seminary in Hartford.[19]

Obtaining Grant, a well-known educator, would clinch Beecher's appeal to the Hartford community to establish a permanent fund for a building and teaching staff for her school. Opposition to women's higher education, Beecher claimed, resulted only from the fact that it often failed to produce women as strong in morality and domestic training as in literary pursuits. Lending prestige to women's higher education thus required women's seminaries to employ an additional teacher expressly dedicated to overseeing their

nonliterary development. When appealing to Grant, Beecher described this position as the "chaplain" who would "direct and control [the school's] religious teaching." The associate principal would also oversee instructors in a department of "female economy" and an additional instructor on "personal habits and manners." A Hartford graduate would thus be well educated, of good character, trained in domestic arts, and possessing the upper-middle-class social graces needed to influence the powerful.[20]

To convince Grant to separate from Lyon, Beecher argued that the cause of women's education would be better served by having one permanent institution that embodied the full vision of well-rounded education for women rather than two impermanent ones that only achieved part of that vision. Beecher thought she stood a good chance of winning over her fellow educator. Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon shared much of Beecher's vision for Hartford. In an era when no American women's school was permanently incorporated, they longed for women to share in the stability of schools that outlasted the departure of a popular teacher and owned rather than leased their buildings. They agreed that women's instruction should build systematically on previously mastered subjects rather than offer a disorganized selection of courses. All hoped to house female students in a single building to supervise their moral and spiritual growth more effectively. To clinch her proposal, Beecher offered Grant a salary of one thousand dollars—considerably more than she was making at Ipswich, or could expect to make anywhere else.[21]

But that offer proved a mistake. To Beecher's surprise, Grant refused the position. Although she agreed with much of Beecher's educational philosophy, it seems that Grant regarded her proposition as too worldly. Zilpah Grant grew up under social, economic, and religious conditions strikingly similar to Mary Lyon—complete with losing her father at a young age—and both embraced their childhood faith as adults. So unlike Beecher, Grant and Lyon ran their school first for the conversion of their students, only second for their educational advancement, and not at all for their social advancement. Unaware of these differences, Beecher proceeded to exacerbate the problem in her appeal for Grant to reconsider.[22]

Beecher's renewed appeal built on her assumption that the wealthy would improve society. She argued that Hartford could do greater good because it attracted richer students. On his daughter's behalf, Beecher's father, Lyman, made a similar appeal to Grant: "Hitherto, religion had been associated with poverty and ignorance, or, at best, with solid, strong, coarse, unpolished orthodoxy. I do not expect that taste and refinement will convert the soul, but who can tell how many have been repelled from religion by a want of them."

Unlike Mary Lyon, Grant was widely respected for her ladylike poise and polish as well as for her evangelical conviction, thus making her the perfect choice to bridge the world of middle-class evangelicalism and the world of elite mores. Unfortunately for Catharine Beecher, however, Grant had other priorities. She preferred straightforward teaching to the industrious plain folk she believed would make the most use of it. Grant decided that a school dedicated to serving the rich (a summer term for one student cost more than three hundred dollars) was not the model of women's education that New England needed.[23]

Beecher had been consistent in her faith in the wealthy: at the same time that she was appealing to Grant to serve as associate principal, she was also appealing to Hartford's rich elite to put the seminary on firm footing. She sought twenty thousand dollars from them and argued that the donation was ultimately in their self-interest: a permanent seminary would draw at least that much to Hartford each year from the new students it would attract. These elite, however, proved unwilling to risk investing in an outsider's scheme when no well-known educator would fill the new position. Consequently, Beecher suffered a nervous breakdown and abandoned Hartford. To recover, she moved to Cincinnati with her father, Lyman, and found the strength to try again.[24]

In 1833, she established the Western Female Institute there, hoping to make it the model for a national system of seminaries. The envisioned system now included poorer as well as wealthier students to foster social stability by training women from various classes for the same sets of duties as mothers and teachers. It also included women's professional schools based on the coequal faculty system of men's colleges rather than the principal and subordinate teachers system of female seminaries. But Beecher continued to rely on the influence of the rich. She planned to raise money for a building from the wealthy citizens of Cincinnati and then seek the remainder needed for permanent endowment from wealthy citizens back East. Unfortunately, much like the good citizens of Hartford, the good citizens of Cincinnati refused to acquiesce. For all her attempts to appear refined, Beecher proved too brazen and direct—too rural middle class—to influence the wealthier families of the town. Lyman Beecher also inadvertently hurt her case when he appealed for eastern funds for Lane Theological Seminary by representing the West as uncouth and in need of civilizing. Aiding a middle-class woman whose family made pretensions of superiority over those who considered themselves better bred proved too much for Cincinnati's elite. By 1837 Beecher's reliance on the unsympathetic rich had sunk endowment

prospects for her second school and hence her plan for a national system of women's seminaries.[25]

The Incarnation of Lyon's Educational Vision

While Beecher was seeking to establish a model permanent institution of higher education for American women in Cincinnati, Lyon was doing the same in Massachusetts. After more than a decade of teaching, much of it with Zilpah Grant, Lyon concluded that the two women could multiply their good work by separating into different institutions. In 1834 Mary Lyon left Ipswich to begin raising money for another women's school that would operate according to their New Divinity principles but with sufficient endowment to ensure its permanence. Lyon knew some of their differences, but because Beecher was a well-known educator pursuing similar goals, Lyon asked her to lend her influence to the cause of fund-raising for Mount Holyoke. The resulting exchange further clarifies the connections between Beecher's and Lyon's beliefs about religion, gender, and class in their educational philosophies.[26]

Lyon's vision for Mount Holyoke diverged significantly from Beecher's emerging vision for the model women's seminary. To make her new school affordable to women like her younger self, Lyon wove two innovative and controversial features into the fabric of Mount Holyoke: very low teacher salaries (capped at $225), and a cooperative labor system whereby students did all cooking, cleaning, and other domestic chores. She also departed from conventional fund-raising wisdom. Consonant with her faith in the middle classes, Lyon believed that earlier attempts to endow women's schools failed because they had solicited a few rich donors rather than many benevolent commoners. She thus dissented from the opinions of her and Grant's New Divinity mentor Joseph Emerson, who, like Beecher, believed the hope for establishing college-level institutions for women lay with the generosity of "a few affluent individuals."[27]

Lyon's most candid explanation of the purpose of the domestic labor component of her plan came in an 1834 letter to her longtime friend and former assistant teacher Hannah White. Lyon clarified to White that she was not proposing a "manual labor school for ladies." A few educational institutions at the time were contending that women support themselves by raising crops, spinning, or sewing and then selling the results. Lyon believed that such an approach was likely to generate more expenses than it saved, and

she did not advocate domestic labor for its own sake if it would drive up tuition. While she valued domestic activity, Lyon's proposed labor system was a way to cut costs, not a central feature of the women's education. She believed the system would also help fund the institution by appealing to her donor base. She wrote:

> And if any institution should ask for public support, would it not be desirable that, in some particulars, it should present certain marked features which would be approved by common Christians? On this account, I have thought that, in the proposed seminary, it would be well to have the domestic work done by the members, not as an essential feature of the institution, but as a mere appendage. . . . Might not this simple feature do away with much of the prejudice against female education among common people?

This letter makes clear that Lyon did not include domestic labor at Mount Holyoke for its own sake, but it does not clarify whether she thought the appeal to the common people would be the low tuition or the inclusion of domestic arts in the school experience.[28]

Unlike Catharine Beecher, Lyon did not actually believe in devoting class time to instruction in domestic arts. Rather, Lyon believed the pedagogical benefit of the domestic labor system was its ability "to preserve the good habits already acquired, and to make a favorable impression with regard to the value of system, promptness, and fidelity in this branch of the duties of woman." Lyon did not clarify that nuance to the many donors who were "anxious to have their children taught how to perform the ordinary processes of housewifery." Most likely, this decision sprang from her conviction that the details of the system were important only inasmuch as they made possible an affordable education.

This education in turn was designed to enable as many students as possible to advance God's purposes in the world. Lyon thus built religious instruction and reflection into almost every free hour of life at Mount Holyoke. Furthermore, because all the women lived in one building, she could exercise almost total control in constructing an environment that fostered religious revivals. In this manner, Mount Holyoke mirrored the totalizing character of many American communitarian experiments. The early nineteenth-century social and economic ferment that gave birth to women's higher education also created a multitude of small communities in the 1830s and 1840s that heavily regulated all aspects of life in order to be model societies that could light the way for restructuring larger society. Many of these communities—such as Brook Farm, New Harmony, and the North American Phalanx—

paid particular attention to educating their youth to be able to pass on their ideals. Conversely, some experimental educational institutions partook of the spirit of communitarianism to best transmit theirs.[29]

Lyon's evangelical pragmatism, so evident in the school's design and her interaction with donors, also underlay her endeavors to recruit Beecher's support. As with potential donors, Lyon attempted to co-opt Beecher's beliefs about femininity into serving higher purposes. When Lyon approached Beecher for help in the summer of 1836, the latter was traveling in the East to promote a plan to recruit female teachers for the West; Mount Holyoke likewise planned to do precisely that. Beecher nevertheless refused to aid the project because she opposed the low salaries Lyon planned to pay her teachers. Beecher's objections arose from her commitment to raising the status of women in the public eye. Doing so required compensation of their work at a rate comparable with men's. Just as Beecher's vision for the model female seminary had not matched Grant's, Lyon's did not match Beecher's.[30]

In a case of déjà vu, Lyon sent Beecher a letter explaining her reasoning and asking the other woman to reconsider. She agreed with Beecher that the true value of Mount Holyoke would be the quality of its education and its permanence rather than the low cost of its tuition. She added, though, that although teachers did, of course, deserve remuneration commensurate with the value of their work, they could choose, like the apostle Paul, to lay down their right to appropriate compensation for the sake of the gospel. Low tuition was necessary because the work of educating women of lesser means had to be carried forth immediately, even though the public was not yet prepared to pay teachers what they were worth. Lyon concluded her argument by appealing to the beliefs about women's proper sphere that Beecher used to assert women's moral superiority. She stated her agreement with Beecher that God had designed women to exert the primary influence in the domestic sphere, and by extension in the profession of teaching, while God accordingly designed men to economically support women's vocation through men's work in the other professions. Lyon then gently suggested that it would therefore be particularly unseemly for women to seek financial gain from their profession as teachers since God had made them economically dependent on men. As Lyon's occasionally brazen fund-raising techniques reveal, feminine seemliness was not actually among her top priorities. She would alternately ignore conventional mores or find common ground with the gender ideologies of others, as seemed best calculated to raise the support needed to realize her goal.[31]

Results were mixed. Not from concern for training poorer women for usefulness, but from concern for making the teaching profession female,

Beecher eventually conceded that low salaries would be acceptable at Mount Holyoke. She did this only because its chief purpose was to train more teachers—teachers who would then command a higher salary at common schools. Yet no record exists of Beecher supporting Lyon's vision with either money or a public endorsement, and she would later publicly criticize aspects of the plan.[32]

The two women's competing visions now stand in clear contrast. Beecher eschewed conversion-based Christianity for the belief that women gently nurtured moral character in their children and students. Convincing the nation to value this women's work more than that of male ministers required not only expanding opportunities for women but also increasing the prestige of their role—measured by their pay. Lyon's New Divinity beliefs, in contrast, made her a more ambivalent advocate of the social advancement of women. To further the gospel, women needed only expanded opportunities for service, not public honor on par with men, so Lyon sacrificed the latter goal to the former. Likewise, Beecher increasingly sought to provide women professional training in domesticity and teaching to dignify these professions, while Lyon continued to prefer a liberal arts education, which she believed provided women the mental training to respond either to the familiar demands of home and schoolhouse or the more uncertain ones of the mission field. For the same reasons that Lyon was less of a women's advocate than Beecher, Lyon was more of an advocate for the lower classes. Beecher's theological beliefs led her to favor the prestige of women in general over the advancement of poorer women. Lyon's religious beliefs, however, led her to favor the mobilization of poorer women over the prestige of her sex.

Student Life at Early Mount Holyoke

With Lyon as principal, Mount Holyoke accomplished her goals to an extent that would have made other school founders green with envy. Not only that, but Lyon's practice of hiring teachers from within the seminary ranks set a precedent that sustained her vision almost completely intact for fifty years—well into the period in which it would become the model for the elite eastern women's colleges. From the school's founding in 1837 through its semicentennial in 1887, Lyon's system of domestic chores, advanced academics, and a carefully controlled social environment proved remarkably successful at turning out converted and committed Christian teachers and missionaries. Students left behind ample evidence that they forged an independent culture and dissented from some of the faculty and administration's

positions. This independence of thought makes their choice to align with the substance of the institution's goals all the more noteworthy. Clearly, the young women found compelling the seminary's vision of how they could make a meaningful contribution to their world through evangelization within an expanded female sphere. This vision did not require students to challenge powerful assumptions about women's proper role in society as teachers of youth, but neither did it let this role define them. Rather than making this role the central aspect of women's identity, Mount Holyoke faculty interpreted it for their charges as an open field of opportunity for women, defined first and foremost by their relationship with God, to put to good uses the same learning their brothers received.

Lyon's success came not only from the appeal of her vision but also from the all-encompassing living environment she designed to convert students to the sort of Christianity that would impel them toward this service. Three mornings per week Lyon gave sermons from scripture, and she delivered practical instruction in wise living in the afternoons. Students memorized a lesson on biblical content over the weekend to recite before a teacher Monday morning, and almost all students also attended the customary two services at the local village church every Sunday. Each student was required to spend half an hour in silence in both the morning and the evening, intended for personal devotions. Almost all students also joined smaller, student-run weekly prayer meetings. Furthermore, at the beginning of the year, Lyon had students classify themselves into one of three groups: (1) Christian believers, (2) those wanting to be Christians but unsure of their salvation, or (3) those who did not consider themselves Christians. She then met weekly with each group to give appropriate religious instruction above and beyond that given to the school as a whole in the morning and afternoon meetings. She assigned each teacher the spiritual oversight of eight to ten students, and teachers would spend personal time visiting with them individually on the subject of religion. Teachers also related all academic subjects, even "secular" ones, to God's purposes in the world. Finally, to encourage moral responsibility, Lyon implemented a "self-reporting" system in which she held students responsible for reporting before the whole school assembly any violations of the rules in which they had participated.[33]

Rates of conversion to Christianity at Mount Holyoke—as reported by the students and deemed legitimate by the faculty—exceeded that of any other contemporary institution of higher education. At the school's twenty-fifth anniversary in 1862, Edward N. Kirk, president of Mount Holyoke's board of trustees, estimated that of Mount Holyoke's thirty-four hundred total students since its founding, around one thousand had not been Christians when they

enrolled. Of those one thousand, around three-fourths converted while at Mount Holyoke. Official records indicate even more. Most likely, some of the students who claimed conversion later abandoned their faith, but these numbers still indicate the impressive extent to which Mount Holyoke succeeded in accomplishing Lyon's religious goals. Remarkably, the extensive history of Mount Holyoke published in conjunction with its semicentennial celebration in 1887 still demonstrated an almost total identification with Lyon's aims and methods, and documented similar rates of conversion through the 1880s. By that year, a grand total of 178 Mount Holyoke women had been foreign missionaries, many of whom started Mount Holyoke–style schools in foreign countries. Far more—in fact, a significant majority of all Mount Holyoke graduates—had spread the Christian message as teachers in the United States or American West.[34]

The striking number of conversions and commitments to missionary life at early Mount Holyoke points to a remarkable feature of the school: to a significant extent, the priorities of the students, faculty, and administration aligned. Mount Holyoke's board of trustees, principal, and faculty all ran the school with the intention of fostering Christian commitment among its students, and the students themselves bought into this vision. Many of the institution's religious activities were compulsory (sermons, scripture lessons), but others (student prayer groups, personal devotions) were voluntary. What the administration and faculty would have considered "positive peer pressure" among the students proved remarkably effective at motivating most girls to participate.[35]

School records and student letters suggest that this phenomenon is best explained by three factors. First, Mount Holyoke somewhat naturally attracted a large number of girls from families already committed to its evangelical mission. Even if not all of these women fully embraced their parents' views, enough did to create a critical mass that tipped student sentiment in the direction of the faculty and administration. Second, many students who were not wholly committed to Lyon's goals when they entered the seminary nevertheless found Mount Holyoke's culture compelling once immersed in it. Mount Holyoke teachers showed how students could manage their time so as to combine the cooking and cleaning expected of them with the mental tasks of teaching and learning college-level material. The religious instruction at Mount Holyoke then gave this expanded role clear eternal significance: if a woman converted to Christianity, she could use her mental and physical skills to make an eternal difference in the lives of her students and children by winning them to Christ. Third, once this second group underwent conversion, the now strongly dominant number

of students wholeheartedly committed to Lyon's vision created an additional pull for the remaining students to throw in their emotional lot with the larger community.[36]

Just as student letters testify to substantial agreement with the goals of the institution, they also reveal an independent student approach to intellectual and religious questions squeezed into the margins of the heavily scheduled life at Mount Holyoke. Many of these initiatives gained faculty approval. Although Mary Lyon had excluded abolitionist ferment from Mount Holyoke for its potential to divide Christians and distract them from teaching the gospel, in the 1850 national political events moved most students and teachers to favor political opposition to slavery on religious grounds. Students responded to the proslavery aspects of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 by draping the school in black; in 1860, students held a straw election poll that revealed overwhelming support for Lincoln. Teachers supported both actions. Likewise, Mary Stuart Webster, a senior writing in 1855, recorded regular meetings of a student Literary Society on Wednesdays, recreation day at Mount Holyoke. Although no historian of the school has paid the society any notice, it had more than forty students and so probably existed only at the sufferance of the faculty. Students held debates and composed essays on questions dear to their hearts: "Resolved that the intellect of woman is *equal* to that of man" (yeas 36, nays 3); "Is intellectual culture conducive to the formation of a good Christian character?" and "Is fictitious reading advantageous to those pursuing a course of study?" (yeas won).[37]

Although teachers most likely approved of students' literary activities, other student beliefs and practices ran counter to the official Mount Holyoke grain. Most of these, however, could be seen as reinterpretations rather than wholesale rejections of the school's stances. Though Mount Holyoke faculty generally did not support advocating women's political rights for reasons similar to Lyon's stance on abolitionism, two student debaters championed "Woman's Rights." One planned to be a lawyer and one a physician. These students simply took the teaching on the dignity and importance of women in a different direction from their teachers. Other students who wholeheartedly embraced the religious teaching of the school nevertheless disagreed with their instructors on some of its applications. Mary Stuart Webster, who reported the activities of the Literary Society in her journal, also wrote of a Sunday sermon that it was "a most lovely description of the meek and lowly Saviour [*sic*]. I cannot realize as I ought that he did all this for *me*." Yet she also recorded three separate instances in which she participated with other Mount Holyoke students in waltzing and other dances that the faculty discountenanced, noting: "I don't think there is any moral wrong

in dancing in such little circles as ours are, and especially with *one sex*." A key to deciphering this mix of independent thought with support for the school's outlook lies in the letters of Mount Holyoke's most famous dissident, Emily Dickinson. While Dickinson steadfastly refused conversion, she nevertheless wrote to a friend during the height of a school revival: "I love this Seminary and all the teachers are bound strongly to my heart by ties of affection." Individual care for students perhaps defused what might otherwise have been larger-scale rebellion.[38]

Yet stronger dissent did exist. According to student diarist Annie L. Lane, in the early 1860s, a group of "wild" girls formed a forbidden secret society whose members "[wore] black velvet bows with gilded beads worked on them the letters and number Y.7.B." In November 1861, several of them worked up a clever burlesque of the Thanksgiving Day formalities honoring missionaries associated with the school. A few days later, in what reads like bad nineteenth-century moralistic literature—but actually happened—one of the girls in the society took ill. The next day she died. Her parting message to the school was: "Tell them to be Christians, and not wait—as I have—they don't know what it is to be surprised by death as I have been." Not surprisingly, Lane reports that "tears fell from many eyes unused to weeping . . . and we went to our rooms and *thought*." Thus, while not all students embraced the whole Mount Holyoke package, the overarching religious atmosphere remained powerfully compelling for the majority.[39]

At the same time, certain regulations increasingly grated on students in the postbellum era when the first elite northern women's colleges opened and state universities began accepting women. Although many of the women's colleges used Mount Holyoke as a model, almost all of these schools supported a more robust extracurricular life and freer social norms, both inspired by male collegians. A growing shift toward modernist Protestantism among some former evangelicals and an increase in Catholic and Jewish students also motivated relaxing religious requirements at those institutions. In this new cultural moment, the rules at Mount Holyoke came to seem burdensome to many of its students, provoking them to pen mock "Blue Laws" that took the principle to the extreme. The earliest available version, from November 1866, complained particularly of social restrictions related to a certain religious—and class-based—interpretation of female propriety: "No cosmetics, perfumes, or fancy soaps will be permitted on the premises," and "no member of this school is expected to have gentlemen acquaintances, unless it be a returned missionary, or an agent for some benevolent society. Daguerreotypes, Carte de visites [early photographs], and Plaster Busts, are also prohibited. 'Thou shalt not worship any image.' " Editorial remarks

following the Blue Laws make clear, however, that the authors remained loyal to the school despite what they considered its social drawbacks, and (rightly) considered a Mount Holyoke education among the best in the country available to them.[40]

Conflict over the holistic religious system that had worked well in the 1830s–1850s but no longer seemed to fit the culture of postbellum higher education came to a head in the 1880s and 1890s. During these years, Mount Holyoke followed the women's colleges it had originally inspired and loosened some restrictions as it pursued official collegiate status itself. Mount Holyoke's protective social environment had once calmed fears about the possible defeminizing effects of college-level education on women. Later, however, its revivalism, its many rules, and the way it catered to the lower end of the middle class made it seem old-fashioned after prominent women's colleges, once established, abandoned those traits.[41]

The Chosen Model

When Matthew Vassar began preparations in the late 1850s to found the first of these women's colleges, Catharine Beecher too had finally incarnated her vision of women's higher education, in Milwaukee Female College. Yet Beecher's model, unlike Lyon's, would not widely influence the quest to establish a woman's college of comparable academic quality to men's. Because Lyon was the savvier institution builder, her educational vision proved far more influential.[42]

Beecher, after a hiatus from direct involvement with school founding, had helped establish Milwaukee Female College in 1852. During the 1840s, she had focused her energies on the twin goals of professionalizing domesticity through her *A Treatise on Domestic Economy* and recruiting female teachers for the West through her organization of the National Board of Popular Education. In the early 1850s, she tried one last time to combine these goals by establishing a model college in Milwaukee that would provide professional training for women's careers comparable to what men received for theirs.[43]

Like she had in Cincinnati, Beecher therefore organized her institution like a men's college rather than like a women's seminary: each faculty member would specialize in a particular subject. Yet the departments Beecher wanted to establish at Milwaukee Female College related to women's specific professional needs: (1) the Literary Department for general education, (2) the Normal Department for teacher training, (3) the Domestic Economy Department for training in homemaking, and (4) the Health Department for

training in nursing. Consistent with her understanding of influencing society from the top down, Beecher again allied herself with the prominent citizens of Milwaukee who feared losing their social status to better-trained arrivals from the East if they did not supply higher education for their children. She also established her college in a city rather than in the rural setting favored by many men's colleges. Beecher's natural sociability gave her an affinity for city life, and she believed that cities—like the rich—set the pace for the rest of the country. Additionally, a school in the city allowed students to live at home or board with local families. Once she had given up fostering religious revivals, Beecher no longer needed students under one roof, and she became convinced that living in homes was the best way to preserve students' natural femininity.[44]

Three factors hindered Beecher's goal to make Milwaukee the model that would spread her educational vision across the country. First, Beecher failed to attach her name and influence permanently to the school. She wanted to chair Milwaukee's Domestic Economy Department and use that position to build the quiet domestic life she held up as the ideal. Because she believed single women ought to be financially honored for their work on behalf of society, she requested that the college build her a permanent house on campus, which she in return would use as a laboratory to help train students in domestic arts. When the board refused for lack of money, she likewise refused to take the position. Thus, her association with Milwaukee Female College ended in 1855, the very year Matthew Vassar began to consider founding a women's college. Second, appealing to the rich had once again produced disappointing results; Beecher had been unable to raise enough money to organize and endow the Domestic and Health Departments. Thus, the school that remained after she left was only an attenuated model of her vision of a women's college. Finally, the school's distance from the East militated against any remaining influence it might have had.[45]

The leading available model was therefore Mount Holyoke, which had already inspired several other imitations. In fact, Milo Jewett, the associate of Matthew Vassar who convinced him to establish a women's college instead of a charity hospital, had previously written Lyon for advice when establishing Judson Female Institute in Alabama in 1839. Mount Holyoke had opened in 1837 with a three-year curriculum, as advanced as the best women's seminaries at the time and as similar to men's colleges as possible given the constrictions of social opinion and women's lower preparation in Latin and Greek. Lyon increased that similarity over time; she consistently raised the standards of admission during her tenure as principal until her death in 1849, and she dreamed of extending the curriculum to four years. In 1860, during

the design process for Vassar, Mount Holyoke succeeded in adding a fourth year. Mount Holyoke's curriculum thus resembled a men's college more than an academy for either sex, although it offered a much weaker course in classics.[46]

Vassar wanted to found a college that would "accomplish for young women what colleges of the first class accomplish for young men." On the one hand, convincing the public that a radically distinct female curriculum such as Beecher's matched the standards of the best men's colleges would have been challenging; without a fully functioning model attached to a well-respected educator it was likely nigh impossible. Yet on the other hand, similar college curricula for men and women were perceived as more threatening to the social order than the similar men's and women's academy curricula already in existence because college was the traditional training ground for the professions of theology, law, and medicine. Mount Holyoke, however, demonstrated that women could succeed at a curriculum approaching that of men's colleges, while distinctive womanhood could be preserved by activities outside the classroom. The domestic system and the protective social environment of Mount Holyoke differed so radically from extracurricular life at men's colleges that only a minority complained that the school unsexed women. Mount Holyoke thus paved the way for wide acceptance of truly identical college curricula for men and women.[47]

Of course, what constituted a rigorous men's curriculum was up for debate in the early 1860s, as the traditional classical course of study came under attack for its impracticality. Vassar's first president, John Raymond, however, believed that embracing the trend among some men's colleges of offering many elective courses would encourage the dilettante character of women's education that both Catharine Beecher and Mary Lyon had sought to avoid by instituting a set curriculum. He therefore chose the more traditional, classically oriented, required course of studies. Meanwhile, Vassar tacked on a weaker version of the social structure of Mount Holyoke to provide a distinctive educational experience for women. As historian Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz wryly notes, Vassar had the physical structure of a charity hospital, the façade of a French palace, the curriculum of a college, and the governance of a seminary. Although in Vassar's early years it advocated traditional evangelical Christianity, Horowitz also notes that unlike Mount Holyoke, the seminary governance structure was added not to accomplish specific religious ends, but for fear of otherwise unsexing women.[48]

In another crucial difference, Vassar did not employ a domestic labor system. Its founder was more concerned with perpetuating his name with a great building than with spreading education to women less economically

well-off, and the lady principal he hired to oversee students' extracurricular life did not favor the system. Thus, although Vassar copied the curricular and governing structure of Mount Holyoke, it remained financially beyond the reach of the very students for whom Mount Holyoke had been designed: in 1865–1866, tuition and board at Vassar cost $350 compared to Mount Holyoke's $125–$160. In fact, with some irony considering her earlier views, Catharine Beecher included in her extensive critique of Vassar that so much money spent on a residential hall for students meant the school could not provide a truly cross-class education. A more predictable critique was Vassar's lack of domestic training itself. The curriculum closely copied men's colleges—as much as was possible given women's lower preparation at the time—and made only slight nods to the sex-specific realities of women's post-college lives. Vassar's version of the standard college course "physiology and hygiene" covered "laws of health, personal and domestic"; the "domestic" component of this course supplemented the standard men's fare, but did not appear to include any practical training. The only other noticeable difference was a nod to women's supposedly more aesthetic nature through making art and music available as elective studies. Thus, in keeping with their somewhat higher class origins, Vassar students concerned themselves hardly at all with domestic duties.[49]

Ten years after Vassar opened its doors in 1865, two other elite eastern women's colleges, Wellesley and Smith, followed in its footsteps; both would also follow Mount Holyoke in locating the distinctly feminine aspect of their education largely or even exclusively beyond the classroom. Wellesley's founder, Henry Durant, had served on the board of trustees for Mount Holyoke and patterned his college exceptionally closely to the prototype—including domestic labor rather than academic study of domestic activity—largely because he shared the same evangelical goals as Lyon. As a result, the college cost a mere $250, although tuition would rise as the administration departed from the founder's priorities. Meanwhile, the founders of Smith diverged from aspects of the Holyoke model, but still maintained its essentials; almost a decade later, the founders of Bryn Mawr would in turn draw much of their inspiration from Smith.[50]

Specifically, Smith's founders provided students different living arrangements similar to those advocated by Beecher, but toward Lyon's goal of locating the distinctly feminine element of its education beyond the curriculum—just in a cultural setting geared more to the elite. In place of the single-building residency model of Mount Holyoke, Vassar, and Wellesley, Smith embraced a "cottage system" where students lived in smaller houses. Also unlike the other women's institutions, Smith's founders inten-

tionally established the college close to the bustle of a town, Northampton, Massachusetts. They hoped smaller residencies and proximity to men in the town would preserve students' femininity by avoiding the peculiar effects of sequestering women away from men in one large building—a setting believed to lead to overly intimate same-sex attachments and the development of counterculture visionary schemes. The experimental mind-set popular in the vibrant young republic, the one that had led to communitarian-style ventures such as Mount Holyoke, proved no longer welcome among the established classes of the postbellum United States. Likewise, Smith offered no domestic training inside or outside the curriculum, but, in an echo of earlier ornamental education, did provide an unusual concentration on the fine arts. This focus advanced Smith's goal of providing students not only intellectual discipline but also "a social refinement and culture, which shall enable them to feel at home in the best society, and to conduct themselves with grace and propriety in any sphere of life." While aligning itself much more closely with Lyon's curricular vision than with Beecher's, Smith clearly catered to Beecher's upwardly mobile students rather than to Lyon's simple farm girls and former factory workers: in 1875–1876, tuition and board at Smith cost $400. Bryn Mawr too would adopt the cottage system and cater to richer women.[51]

Conclusion

Because Lyon proved the more successful institution builder, she won the reformers' genteel competition over the essence of women's education—her curricular vision rather than Beecher's became enshrined in the influential women's colleges on the East Coast. Beecher's desire to elevate the social status of female teachers led her to appeal for money from the affluent to fund both her schools and her high salary. When this approach failed, her school plans in Hartford, Cincinnati, and Milwaukee all collapsed. In contrast, Lyon's willingness to do whatever it took to equip as many people as possible for a Christian teaching ministry led to an alternate fund-raising technique. She appealed to more donors possessing less money, and personally forwent significant compensation. The result was a firm foundation for Mount Holyoke, and the institutional success of the seminary in turn proved that copying the liberal arts curriculum of men's colleges need not unsex women. Those trained by Lyon grew to see themselves as the intellectual and spiritual equals of men, but they kept the arts of housekeeping in practice. The eastern women's colleges could then safely relegate feminine pursuits

beyond the classroom. Lyon's combination of idealism and practicality had succeeded not only in realizing her educational vision at Mount Holyoke but also in replicating her design among the trendsetting women's colleges. For half a century Mount Holyoke had produced graduates who embraced its moral vision, and now even more advanced institutions looked poised to do likewise. Evangelical pragmatism had worked—for a time.

But soon neither Vassar nor Wellesley nor Smith nor Bryn Mawr took in farm girls and sent them forth as evangelical women dedicated to converting the world. In keeping with trends in the wider arena of higher education, in due time, these institutions abandoned Lyon's vertical spirituality focused on nurturing an individual's relationship with God in favor of Beecher's horizontal spirituality focused on nurturing godly behavior toward one's neighbor. Indeed, Smith had already embraced this religious approach from its founding. Additionally, even though these colleges employed the pure liberal arts curriculum of Mary Lyon, they more often served the affluent clientele that Catharine Beecher primarily sought to influence. In short, by the 1880s, these colleges were coming to embody Beecher's early plan to educate wealthier women to exercise moral influence on society from the top down—with the major exception that they did not professionalize domesticity by placing it within the formal curriculum.[52]

This lack of formal training in domesticity had far-reaching implications. Women and men could now receive nearly identical training in the college classroom, but on graduation each encountered very different expectations and opportunities: teaching and homemaking remained the only substantial employment available to most women, and the former closed to them after marriage. By rejecting a substantially feminized curriculum, the elite women's colleges could not bring the prestige of professionalism to these traditionally feminine occupations, as Beecher had hoped to do. But by also rejecting Lyon's conversion-oriented philosophy, neither could women's colleges promise their students her alternative type of nongendered prestige: using their education in whatever sphere to save clear numbers of souls. Therefore, administrators, faculty, and students at women's colleges found themselves in need of forging new understandings of the moral and practical purposes of women's higher education that fit this new intellectual and cultural reality. Though they would retain Lyon's nongendered curriculum, like Beecher, they would draw on women's unique identity to articulate their new vision.[53]

Chapter 3

Ideological Origins of Collegiate Coeducation

Oberlin College as a Sending City on a Hill

In 1819, three years after the conversion of Mary Lyon at age nineteen, a horse bucked off seventeen-year-old John J. Shipherd, who landed unconscious. On his recovery, the future founder of Oberlin understandably began to consider his preparation for death. Drawing on the revival preaching he experienced growing up in New York, Shipherd determined to seek Christian conversion. After two weeks of internal struggle, he emerged with a firm sense that God had forgiven his sins and Christ would deliver him into eternal bliss. Like other antebellum evangelicals, Shipherd viewed his conversion not simply as an act that preserved his own soul, but as one that initiated a lifetime of meaningful service to God and others. During the Second Great Awakening, getting one's relationship with God right properly equipped—and required—a person to subsequently work to extend that blessing and other, more temporal ones to fellow human beings. In this context, service to God and others meant engagement in the myriad reform activities designed to perfect the world and usher in the golden age of God's millennium. During the next several years, Shipherd would seek God's will for exactly how he could participate in this mission. This process ultimately led him to found Oberlin colony and college as what we might call a pseudocommunitarian "sending city on a hill": a model Christian community for the rest of the world to copy, with a college to serve as a training ground for missionaries and ministers who would more

directly carry the Christian message beyond the confines of the Ohio settlement.[1]

Oberlin Collegiate Institute (later, College), founded in 1833 with separate men's and women's tracks, became the world's first truly coeducational college when it admitted women to the AB program in 1837. Like Mount Holyoke's unusually advanced education for women, Oberlin's coeducation originated from "evangelical pragmatism," a tendency to make decisions based on the desire to equip as many people as possible to spread the Christian message effectively, even when those decisions cut against the social norm. At Oberlin, this impulse also extended to advocating a panoply of sometimes unpopular social reforms in addition to coeducation. Most Oberlin students bought into the school's activist religious vision, but Oberlin gradually grew less radical over time. Although its leaders did not present a unified front on how women's higher education connected to their future roles, Oberlin's shift away from some of its more extreme social and religious stances would enable the college to play a significant role in the national debates over coeducation that dominated the higher educational landscape from the late 1850s through the early 1870s.

A Sending City on a Hill

As Shipherd sought to discern God's will in the years before deciding to found Oberlin, he revealed the passion for education and reform that would coalesce in the structure of the colony and college. Shipherd trained as a minister and in turn trained other ministerial candidates. He served as general agent of the Vermont Sabbath School Union, part of the popular antebellum reform movement to provide free general and religious education for poor children. To help with the family's finances, his wife, Esther, took over the boarding department of the female seminary in Middlebury. This supplementary income did not prove enough when Shipherd was unable to collect his full salary. In 1830, he resigned his position to seek better provision for Esther and their two sons. He subsequently felt God's call to the "valley of moral death" that was the American West and set off to preach the Christian message there, the same goal Mary Lyon and Catharine Beecher set for the young female schoolteachers they trained. Although Shipherd met with some success in fostering revivals in the tiny settlement of Elyria, Ohio, he subsequently alienated the populace by taking a strong stand for temperance, one of the most prominent—if not always the most popular—reforms of the 1820s and 1830s.[2]

These difficulties in implementing his reform ideals led Shipherd to reconsider his approach. While instructing a ministerial candidate in residence with him, Shipherd read accounts of ministers in Iceland and France who built up model communities characterized by frugal Christian living. These communities earned the respect of the outside world for their inhabitants' kindness to one another and lack of ostentation. In other words, they each served as "a city on a hill," a model of God's plan for human society that inspired all who saw it to do likewise. The establishment of such a community in response to Jesus's injunction in Matthew 5:14 had been a goal of the original Puritan settlers of New England. Now their descendants, Shipherd and his student, Philo P. Stewart, concluded that a community on a similar plan could accomplish the same goal in the American West. Their resolve was strengthened by knowing that northeastern Christians displayed a growing interest in establishing Western colonies designed to bring godliness and civilization to the perceived wilderness. Shipherd and Stewart thus found themselves on the leading edge of the nineteenth-century explosion in American communitarian groups. The new partners named the planned colony Oberlin after a French pastor they admired. The colony was to be the Shipherd household writ large: the residents of the proposed colony would live in "simplicity," giving up luxuries so as to free them to care for one another and support reform movements. As an essential component, the colony would include a school to prepare all the young residents to go forth from the settlement as well-equipped servants of God who could relay Oberlin's message and values elsewhere.[3]

Shipherd shared Mary Lyon's evangelical pragmatism, and it gave the colony's college its peculiar nature. First, this line of thinking led Shipherd to include higher education in Oberlin's school system in the first place, so that the colony's youth could receive all the training they needed without having to leave the formative influences of the ideal Christian community. It also led him to insist on the higher education of women as well as men: training as many people as possible for Christian service meant training both sexes. Additionally, evangelical pragmatism meant supplying higher education as cheaply as possible so that those without substantial means could attend, too. In this manner, the college would attract not only local students but also those from afar who could not afford to pursue their education elsewhere. Thus, trained Christian workers would multiply. Keeping costs down then dictated the radical step of providing higher education for both sexes within the same institution so as not to duplicate resources.

Nevertheless, for Shipherd, evangelical pragmatism also dictated a vision of graduates' future work that was not completely egalitarian; men and

women would work together to save the world, but each in their own way. He hoped to train Oberlin's daughters to save the souls of western children by serving as pious schoolteachers and to train Oberlin's sons to save the souls of western men and women by serving as ministers. In this manner, Oberlin would honor the basic contours of the traditional spheres of work that Shipherd believed were in keeping with biblical precedent. Lyon too believed the basic outline of men's and women's roles to have divine sanction, but these traditional roles received more initial emphasis at Oberlin than at Mount Holyoke, most likely because coeducation forced the issue in a way that single-sex education did not. This emphasis meant that Oberlin would present as little cause for offense as possible when navigating the uncharted waters of collegiate coeducation. Female teachers and women's higher education had both gained wide acceptability by the 1830s, yet collegiate coeducation and women with a passionate sense of mission beyond the home still pushed against the inherited bounds of women's work.[4]

Evangelical pragmatism also led Shipherd to cost-cutting techniques similar to Lyon's. Both sought missionary-minded teachers who would work for very little, and both incorporated gendered student labor to save money. When designing Mount Holyoke, Lyon visited several manual labor schools and determined that labor did not efficiently allow students to earn money to pay for their education, but could keep the costs of the institution as a whole low. Shipherd, however, ascribed to the standard manual labor philosophy of the time: he supported manual labor for both moral and pecuniary considerations. He believed working at manual labor while receiving a liberal arts education kept students prepared to serve God in either manual or mental jobs on graduation—and that ministers could supplement their income by working with their hands, like the apostle Paul. He also believed that students, male and female, could offset the entire expense of their education by working four hours a day, the men at the farm and workshop and the women at domestic labor. Thus, Oberlin's college would resemble a giant family economy, a fact that exemplified its ties to a settlement with communitarian sensibilities. All students, no matter how poor, could thereby afford an education there, provided that "they will do as [Shipherd's] entire family do now, eat bread & milk for breakfast & supper & a plain dinner of flesh & vegetables, & wear plain clothing."[5]

Shipherd and Stewart succeeded in securing their land, their initial capital, and their communitarian-minded initial settlers. These settlers agreed to bind themselves to "as perfect a community of interest as though we held a community of property" and commit all surpluses above "necessary and family expenses" to furthering the spread of the gospel. In 1833, the pair

also succeeded in opening Oberlin Collegiate Institute as an advanced academy with male and female departments. A Collegiate Department opened in the fall of 1834. The catalogue for 1835 lists the institute's final structural form: a Postgraduate Theological Department, a Collegiate Department, a Female Department, and a Preparatory Department. The first annual report of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, issued in 1834, detailed its purpose:

> Its grand object is the diffusion of useful science, sound morality, and pure religion, among the growing multitudes of the Mississippi Valley. It aims also at bearing an important part in extending these blessings to the destitute millions which overspread the earth. For this purpose it proposes as its primary object, the thorough education of Ministers and pious School Teachers. As a secondary object, the elevation of female character. And as a third general design, the education of the *common people* with the higher classes in such a manner as suits the nature of Republican institutions.

Oberlin was unusually egalitarian—as a matter of principle, Christian and American, it educated men and women, rich and poor. Thus, it both modeled the ideal society and trained as many members of the wider society as possible in the service of the Lord.[6]

Egalitarian opportunity did not mean identical training; teachers and ministers required somewhat different preparation. The women's and men's courses of study differed in several ways, although almost all classes in the Ladies' Course met jointly with men in either the Preparatory or Collegiate Departments; only the arrangement of prescribed classes differed. The most prominent difference was the presence of the standard large amounts of Greek and Latin for the men but not the women. Men also advanced further in math and took additional classes in law and political economy, deemed relevant only to them.[7]

What the ladies' and collegiate courses shared, however, was a strong emphasis on biblical and theological training beyond the standard at other colleges and female seminaries. Both men and women read the religious poems of Cowper and Milton, both received the traditional collegiate instruction in Christian mental and moral philosophy, both took weekly English Bible classes throughout their course, both studied biblical geography and history, and both took Christian evidences and read a book refuting deism. The women even took courses in Principles of Sacred Interpretation and Lectures in Theology not listed for men. (Men most likely covered these topics when studying the Bible in the original Greek and Hebrew.) Thus, with the notable exception of learning Hebrew, men and women studied equal

amounts of Bible and theology. Oberlin's founders clearly thought that while "ministers and pious schoolteachers" required different training for their occupations, both needed nearly equivalent religious training to pursue these occupations so as to advance the kingdom of God. Though the college did not elevate women's religious work above men's, as Catharine Beecher would have had it, Oberlin's curriculum revealed the radical belief that female teachers constituted genuine spiritual equivalents to male ministers.[8]

Oberlin's egalitarian spirit expanded even further in 1835. A block of students had recently resigned from Lane Seminary in Cincinnati because the administration prohibited their antislavery activities. Shipherd, sympathetic with reform movements of all sorts, saw an opportunity to bring much-needed resources to Oberlin in the form of theological students, faculty, and money. The Lane students agreed to form the core of Oberlin's Theological Department; famous revivalist Charles Finney agreed to become professor of theology; revivalist and moral philosopher Asa Mahan signed on as president; and the rich, reforming brothers Arthur and Lewis Tappan agreed to donate tens of thousands of dollars—all on the condition that Oberlin would admit black students alongside white. Shipherd accordingly asked the trustees to implement the change, writing in 1834: "This should be passed because it is *right principle; and God* will bless us in doing right. Also because thus doing right we gain the confidence of benevolent and able men who probably will furnish us some thousands." Pragmatism and principle merged.[9]

This reform did not go over as easily as Shipherd had hoped. Racial prejudice proved difficult to overcome, even among committed Christian reformers such as the colonists of Oberlin. Stewart opposed Shipherd, and both the board of trustees and the student body were split over the issue. A letter by Shipherd attempting to persuade the board reveals objections voiced by opponents: Oberlin would lose respect as an institution of higher education, blacks were not as intellectually capable as whites, and the admission of blacks to a coeducational institution was particularly dangerous because it might result in "amalgamation." Shipherd countered that Western Reserve College, Princeton Seminary, and even Lane Seminary all admitted talented blacks, that only blacks who qualified academically would be admitted to Oberlin, and that fear of interracial marriage was only a scare tactic. When the board of trustees met to rule on the resolution, it passed by a single vote, and the character of Oberlin changed forever. The new multiracial milieu would put additional pressure on the school to regulate interaction between the sexes.[10]

The final piece of Oberlin's egalitarian puzzle fell into place in 1837. At the start of that school year, just as Mount Holyoke was opening its doors, four female students petitioned for admission to the regular College Course

rather than the Ladies' Course. Although President Mahan supported them, female principal Alice Cowles initially opposed their decision. The faculty, however, approved their request, and in 1841, three of them received an AB along with their male peers. These three were the first women in American history to earn this degree.[11]

Oberlin then became the nation's first coeducational college, but not because it set out specifically to accomplish this goal. Rather, it set out to train the children of a pioneer religious settlement dedicated to frugality, and the cheapest way to do so was to educate them in a single institution. The combination of religious and financial convictions that made Oberlin an innovator in women's education bore considerable resemblance to the one that did likewise for Mount Holyoke. Soon the soil of coeducation would grow the seed of evangelical pragmatism into advocates for women even more radical than those at Mount Holyoke.

Student Moral and Religious Life

Oberlin, like Mount Holyoke, proved remarkably successful at fostering among its students a commitment to the religious values of the organization. It used fundamentally the same techniques: throughout its first four decades, Oberlin students, both men and women, participated in a dizzying round of church services, prayer meetings, and voluntary benevolent societies that made religious life at the college equal its intensity at Mount Holyoke. Oberlin religious life had a distinct flavor, however, deriving from its status as a full-fledged college, its coeducational nature, its situation in a town with similar religious aims, and the peculiar theology of its prominent professors. This distinct flavor was highly reformist. Students would adopt this outlook and, when it came to gender relations, push it even further than Oberlin's leaders.

The required religious activities alone filled up a fair amount of students' time. Oberlin regulations mandated that students attend the customary two church services held in town on the Sabbath, in addition to a Thursday lecture by Charles Finney or another prominent pastor that functioned as a third weekly sermon. All student boardinghouses conducted morning prayers, and mandatory daily chapel met in the afternoon. The curriculum included extensive religious instruction, and each class, regardless of topic, began with a prayer or a hymn.

Strong peer pressure also operated to encourage involvement in various optional prayer meetings offered throughout the week. Reflecting the diversity

within revivalist evangelicalism, students attended both coeducational and single-sex gatherings. The most popular was a coeducational, student-run prayer meeting that met on Monday evenings and often drew between four and five hundred attendees. Students took turns rising to speak or pray, and the process continued for a solid hour with few interruptions. Freshmen, sophomores, juniors, and seniors also held single-sex individual prayer meetings once a week.[12]

Much of the reformist flavor of Oberlin's religious life came from its integration into the local community. Many students joined voluntary benevolent organizations run by men and women in the town. Through these organizations, students were caught up in the larger priorities of the surrounding town rather than separated into a different culture. Because participating in these organizations often involved speaking before audiences and holding offices, they organized by sex according to the national pattern. Male collegians primarily joined the town's prominent antislavery society, while female students joined the female antislavery society and the female moral reform society. Feminist of a sort, the Oberlin Female Moral Reform Society fought the sexual double standard and placed more blame on men in cases where both sexes were involved. Students imbibed these and other similar values from the townspeople with whom they associated.[13]

Students also formed their own voluntary societies in concert with the religious priorities of the school and town, but several were more progressive in opening to both sexes. Most prominent among these were the single-sex literary societies patterned after those at other colleges, two for men and two for women. These societies took on a distinctly Oberlin flair, however. They maintained an explicitly Christian purpose in addition to their literary one; students would debate literature and the great questions of the day, but also thorny theological problems. They also moved in the direction of cooperation between the sexes. For three years, from 1858 to 1861, the male and female literary societies worked together to publish a journal, the *Oberlin Student Monthly: A Religious, Political and Literary Magazine*, which was exactly what it said. Briefly during the heyday of the *Monthly*, from 1859 to 1861, a coeducational literary society met before folding, along with the *Monthly*, because of the Civil War. Thus, Oberlin's literary societies in some ways constituted an early version of the student voluntary religious societies, some single-sex and some coeducational, that increasingly formed in the second half of the nineteenth century. A more explicit precursor to later student Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) groups was the student missionary society (1852–1864). Though coeducational, no women held officer positions in the group.[14]

As at Mount Holyoke, this pervasive religious culture had the desired effect: the number of professing evangelical Christians of both sexes at Oberlin was extremely high. Graduates from the first four decades recall constant religious revivals and pervasive Christian commitment among the students. Clear statistics exist from 1867, when President Fairchild began the tradition of issuing annual reports. In that year, five-sixths of the members of the College Course professed to be Christians, and, moreover, of the forty-three juniors and seniors, all but two or three were "hopefully pious." Numbers are not available for the Female Department, but it seems reasonable to conclude similar results held there as well.[15]

Additionally, the coeducational student literary magazine reveals an unusual degree of pride in Oberlin's distinguishing features and fidelity to its vision. A student article summed up the magazine's philosophy when it remarked: "No better evidence can be given of the prosperity of an Institution, and that it is securing the end of its existence, than the fact that a strong feeling of sympathy and respect exists between its pupils and teachers. Oberlin, we are proud to say, has always been eminent in this respect." The inaugural issue in November 1858 stated: "The controlling object and spirit of the magazine should be moral and religious. A publication, emanating from Oberlin students, in which Christ and Christianity would be out of place, would be to all the best friends of the Institution a grief, and would be an opprobrium to its conductors." The *Monthly*'s editor also defended the student journal's unusual inclusion of frequent articles on politics—that mirrored their professors' and neighbors' radically abolitionist stance—by opining: "It is the peculiar glory of our Government that every subject is personally interested in the conduct of public affairs. . . . This privilege belongs to the student as fully as to the professed politician. . . . Colleges in this land are fountains of the mightiest influence. From them are to come forth our statesmen in the better age to be." Many Oberlin students thus fulfilled the dreams of the founders: they would be, as hoped, the ones sent forth from the colony to carry religiously based activism into the wider world so as to hasten the coming of the millennium.[16]

Thus, by all appearances, the vast majority of Oberlin students bought into the school's evangelicalism as well as its reformist bent, including coeducation. To a certain extent, they would have had to in order to be willing to brave the combination of manual labor, rustic conditions, and outside opprobrium that went with being an Oberlin student, especially in the early years. As in the case of Mount Holyoke, Oberlin not only attracted students who already accepted the activist Protestantism that dominated the campus but also lured those simply drawn to a good education that was offered

affordably. Most of these latter students were at least sympathetic to broadly evangelical ideals or they would not have come. Conversion statistics indicate that the passion for conversion, Christian holiness, and reform that dominated the activities and mind-set of both school and town eventually proved compelling for most of these "bread-and-butter" students, and they too professed Christian conversion. The incredible dominance of students and townspeople of this mind-set would often finally win over the uncertain. Thus, instead of engaging in high jinks, students throughout Oberlin's early decades engaged in soul-searching and prayer meetings. While Oberlin certainly dealt with its share of disciplinary issues, most of these occurred in the Preparatory Department, and even then they were relatively minor compared to the hazing, pranks, and destruction of property common on other campuses.[17]

Nevertheless, the administration took no chances when it came to student behavior in the world's first coeducational college. According to the standard approach of men's colleges, the faculty supervised the discipline of the male students. Accommodating women required an innovation: a separate Ladies' Board, consisting of the wives of faculty members and headed by a female principal, supervised the discipline of female students. Both groups independently reported to the trustees. James Fairchild, an early Oberlin student and later faculty member and president, later recalled that the purpose of the Ladies' Board was to "save [the young women], in any case of inquiry or personal discipline, from the publicity of appearing before the general Faculty of the college." The newness of coeducation revealed itself in some confusion regarding respective jurisdiction. For example, in 1854, a "Miss H. Angel" was reported to have violated some of the behavioral rules of the Female Department. The Ladies' Board found her guilty and would have dismissed her, but wrote that "as she is a member of the College Department [rather than the Ladies' Course] we refer the case to the Faculty for final action."[18]

Indeed, the majority of disciplinary cases involved regulations governing relations between the sexes. Those regulations fell most heavily on women, and it was the Ladies' Board, not the faculty, who made the restrictive rules for the institution's female students. Most notably, women had to return to their rooms by eight o'clock in the evening, while men had until ten o'clock. Considerations of appearance loomed large in both the regulations and the rulings on disciplinary cases, no doubt because coeducation was so new. Eternal vigilance was the price of liberty from outside criticism. Violation of the rule forbidding male and female students from visiting each other in their rooms was more likely to result in expulsion than any other offense. In one revealing case, the Ladies' Board agreed to forgive a repentant student who

was out until eleven o'clock at a location where she had permission to be only until eight o'clock on the condition that she tell everyone who knew about the incident that she regretted her actions. Maintaining Oberlin's public reputation for strict regulation of interaction between the sexes seems to have driven these decisions.[19]

The communitarian, family-based nature of Oberlin mitigated this strictness. The Ladies' Board took its responsibility in loco parentis seriously and, like conscientious parents, they investigated each case individually with an eye to extenuating circumstances and with the intention of reintegrating the reformed offender back into the community. Indeed, in the vast majority of cases, the pupil proved contrite and was allowed to remain. In a representative case heard on June 28, 1851, "Miss Parsons of Pittsfield" acknowledged being guilty "of deceiving her father & of keeping late hours with gentlemen." As this was a serious offense against propriety, the board was inclined to recommend dismissal. Nonetheless, on July 12, female principal Marianne Dascomb reported that "upon investigation Miss Parsons appeared less culpable than she had seemed. It was decided that if she could have a home in a good family she might remain a member of the school." Faculty records reveal similar cases.[20]

Students' relatively small deviations from the Oberlin norm seem to indicate that they thought for themselves but still chose to align with the administration's agenda most of the time. In 1867, President Fairchild wrote in his annual report of cracking down on the use of tobacco and participation in secret societies—the same year in which he indicated that all but two or three juniors and seniors had professed to be evangelical Christians. The next year, he recorded no disciplinary cases except ones involving tobacco. Thus, for many Oberlin men, tobacco use seems to have held the place that dancing held for many Mount Holyoke women: they believed, contrary to the administration, that one could smoke yet be a good Christian.[21]

Even a case of extreme deviation from the prevailing righteousness serves to highlight the general consensus. In Oberlin's first decade, a male student, taking the sort of advantage of coeducation that everyone feared might occur, began sending "indecent anonymous letters to the young ladies." A group of other male students decided the infraction called for "extra-judicial" means to "detect and suppress the scoundrel." They lured the author into the woods, prayed over him that he would repent, and horsewhipped him. At few other schools did nineteenth-century college students resort to vigilante justice to uphold administration policy. The presence of sisters and female friends most likely contributed to the group's reaction. Dissent over the practice of coeducation was almost unheard of among Oberlin students.[22]

In fact, coeducation was so much a point of pride among students that one of their main deviations from the official line was a more progressive stance toward the role of women. Although the administration boldly supported coeducation, it took a conservative stance on women's rights, almost as if to compensate. As most students concurred with the general egalitarian stance of the institution, it is perhaps no surprise that several arrived at more feminist conclusions. In addition to graduating countless female teachers and solo missionaries of the type turned out by Mount Holyoke, Oberlin also nurtured two nationally prominent feminists: Lucy Stone (1843–1847) and Antoinette Brown (later, Blackwell; 1846–1850). Stone would be a lifelong speaker and activist on behalf of both women's rights and African American rights and Brown would be the first non-Quaker woman ordained in a Protestant denomination. Both these women argued with the administration regarding limitations placed on women such as the prohibition against reading their essays before mixed audiences and the refusal to issue a formal degree to female students in the Theology Department. Both women nevertheless recall Oberlin fondly in their later writings, seeing in the school an environment more congenial to women than most others available at the time. Women who did not receive national fame for their views also pushed back against the administration's attitude. One female student wrote an article in the *Monthly* protesting a professor's recent talk in praise of youthful ardor that spoke only of "young men" and their activities, until tacking on "young men and women" at the end of the speech as an afterthought. Women, she noted poignantly, longed for meaning and adventure too.[23]

The internal workings of Oberlin's literary societies provide further evidence of students' inclination to push against the gender boundaries generally held by administrators and townspeople, while continuing to identify with Oberlin's outlook overall. From almost the beginning of the men's societies, they permitted female students to observe the proceedings. The arrival of a new, stricter female principal in 1840 temporarily put a stop to this practice, but the two men's societies issued a joint resolution respectfully disagreeing with the Ladies' Board. Their agitation succeeded and women continued to attend. Similarly, in keeping with mores surrounding public speaking, the women most often confined themselves to reading their essays off the page. Yet the female literary societies sometimes mirrored the men by practicing oration and debate among themselves, and their members probably formed the core of the agitation to permit female graduates to deliver their own speeches at graduation. These expansive practices by both the men's and women's groups also likely contributed to the brief experiment in a coeducational literary society.[24]

The topics covered by the student literary societies also revealed substantial adherence to Oberlin's values coupled with expansive tendencies as to the proper concerns for each sex. In addition to the more traditional fare of literary discussion and critique, both men's and women's groups frequently discussed topics closer to the heart of Oberlinites than to other college students—namely, gender, religious, and political questions. It should come as no surprise that both men and women considered religious issues such as: "Is it the duty of Christians in the U.S. to go on foreign missions while there are three millions of heathen in our own country?" (women, 1846), or "Can we obtain a knowledge of God by a direct intuition of the reason?" (men, 1841). Outside of theology, emphases fell where expected: the men's societies showed more interest in the questions of the wider world and the women's societies showed more interest in the questions of home life. Still, men discussed the roles of the sexes and women the wisdom of recent political decisions: "A motion was made to instruct the leading disputants of the next general discussion to bring into the Society a bill that entitled the Ladies of Ohio to an equal right of suffrage with Gentlemen" (men, 1856) or "resolved that the present crisis in Kansas must be met by civil war" (women, 1856). Clearly, Oberlin students of both sexes believed they had the right and duty to seek to reform all aspects of the nation's life.[25]

The extent to which the Oberlin faculty may have encouraged independent thought on these and other issues is debatable. For example, in his annual report, President Fairchild credited the low number of skeptics at Oberlin in the late 1860s to the "free communication" permitted in Bible class. All student questions about the faith were taken seriously and open to discussion. In such an environment, students would have had less incentive to rebel intellectually. Yet a student reported a decade later in 1876 that Oberlin's philosophy classes amounted to indoctrination with insufficient free discussion of the religious doubts of some students. In the 1880s, another student questioned the reliability of numbers concerning church membership, attendance at religious services, and number of services attended by Oberlin students, noting that the peer pressure toward orthodoxy caused most students with doubts to keep them hidden.

These comments point toward growing agitation among Oberlin undergraduates against a curriculum and governance begun in the 1830s and increasingly abrasive to students coming of age in the postbellum intellectual and social climate. From its founding, most Oberlin students affirmed the administration's commitment to coeducation paired with gender role difference, but many pushed the bounds of sexual equality further than the administration. Later, the pattern would repeat for religious matters: most

students remained committed to the religious and activist vision of the school, but many began to disagree on points of theology or on the effectiveness of old approaches to religious goals in what seemed to be a new era. Very much as at Mount Holyoke, this agitation became noticeable in the late 1870s and picked up steam in the 1880s; it was not yet vocal at the time of the prominent national debates over coeducation in the early 1870s. Yet changes under the surface by both students and administrators would eventually lead the school in a more liberal direction. In the meantime, changes among administrators took the edge off Oberlin's early radical reputation. Thus more respectable, it more easily played a key role in the national discussion of the question of coeducation from the late 1850s through the 1870s.[26]

From Reform to Respectability

Oberlin's peculiar mixture of liberalism and conservatism regarding gender issues admitted diverging emphases among administrators. Overall, evangelical pragmatism dictated that making coeducation acceptable meant Oberlin made more of gender differences than did Mount Holyoke. Tensions within that philosophy, however, also meant that some Oberlin administrators held even more progressive views on gender than those common at the women's institution. An additional ingredient livened the mix: over time, Oberlin deemphasized the whole panoply of reforms that had animated its early years. Yet this shift made administrators neither more nor less likely to specify roles for each sex. Nor did male and female administrators tend to line up on opposite sides of this spectrum. All administrators strongly believed in extending higher education to women and to the poor in order to equip as many people as possible to spread the Christian message as well as possible. Whether spreading that message best occurred by keeping women's expanded role within the socially acceptable sphere of teaching children or whether it demanded pushing that role further differed person to person. Thus, Oberlin presented a united front to the nation on the importance and viability of coeducation, but encompassed a variety of convictions on how the new form of education should relate to women's areas of service on graduation.

Throughout Oberlin's early decades, the president and female principal often displayed different levels of emphasis on gender roles, but it was not always the woman who proved more progressive. Hence, students received mixed messages from which they could choose. In the earliest years, President Asa Mahan (1835–1850) and the first female principals, most notably Alice Cowles (1836–1839), all advocated a similar position of advanced

education for women intended to expand their roles in the world, but all within what they believed to be women's divinely designated sphere. During the presidency of Charles Finney (1851–1866) and the principalship of Marianne Parker Dascomb (1852–1870), Oberlin shifted its focus from the social reform movements of its earliest years to concentrate more exclusively on religious revivalism. For Finney, this focus meant less concern for distinctions between men and women—which paled for him in light of the importance of spreading the gospel—but for Dascomb, this focus meant less concentration on women's freedoms than during Oberlin's first decades. Finally, under President James Fairchild (1866–1889) and Principal (and, later, dean of the Women's Department) Adelia A. F. Johnston (1871–1900), a subtle shift occurred away from impassioned revivalism toward middle-class propriety, but still within the context of broad evangelical religion. This shift arguably made Oberlin's model more widely palatable, but it did not alter the institution's range of convictions regarding gender roles. In a reversal of the previous administration's positions, President Fairchild emphasized traditional gender distinctions in keeping with propriety, while Principal Johnston encouraged students' measured participation in the women's rights movement in which some evangelicals were cooperating.

Oberlin's first president, moral philosopher Asa Mahan (1835–1850), embraced coeducation in part because the new approach to collegiate education dovetailed with his broad commitment to reform in general. Mahan embodied the era of "Oberlinisms," an array of reforms, many considered radical, that the town and college embraced because their members believed such reforms necessary to achieve a thoroughly righteous model community. Coeducation and racial integration received the most press, but the reforms the community advocated were legion: the Graham diet (a bland diet believed to help moderate unruly passions); "moral reform" (a single sexual standard, and a high one at that); replacing the Greek "heathen classics" with Greek scripture; and, particularly, Oberlin-style "perfectionism," the doctrine that Christians could become perfect in this life and ought to seek to do so. Mahan excelled at holding his ground in the face of opposition; he successfully maintained the purity and distinctiveness of the college when under fire for its peculiarities. Unfortunately, he was so good at holding his ground in the face of opposition that his ego eventually alienated the entire faculty, who forced his resignation in 1850.[27]

Mahan's commitment to coeducation did not spring from belief that a model community had no sex roles. According to his memoirs, Mahan came to Oberlin regretting the existence of coeducation there but determined to give it a fair trial. He was surprised and won over by how well it seemed to

turn out men and women well suited for their respective work for God, and he adopted it as one of his reforms. Mahan led the faculty in working out the logic of coeducation to a fuller extent: he unsuccessfully argued to them for the right of women to read their own essays before the mixed audience at commencement, and he also successfully argued that women completing the Ladies' Course ought to be issued diplomas equivalent to those given the men who completed the College Course. Mahan's advocacy for gender equality in these respects sprang from belief in sexual complementarity rather than sexual sameness; he thought women and men should receive an education comparable in quality but distinct in content and be equally honored for their different work.[28]

Mahan construed his advocacy of coeducation as part of the national debate over the purpose of undergraduate education. Just months after his forced resignation, he delivered an address before the National Education Convention entitled "Character and Comparative Merits of the Old and New Systems of Liberal Education." Siding with Francis Wayland's groundbreaking report from the previous year, Mahan argued that undergraduate education ought to include more immediately useful subjects than hitherto taught. Proponents of the traditional classics-based curriculum argued that concentrating on Greek, Latin, and mathematics was a time-tested method for developing in students a wide variety of mental abilities, a concept known as "mental discipline." As would be most famously argued twenty years later by Harvard president Charles William Eliot, Mahan maintained that students could attain mental discipline just as easily from studying practical as impractical subjects. Students, he argued, ought to be given free rein, within limits, to select their own studies; this approach would naturally produce the balance society needed of people trained in various fields. It would also make better use of the college years—students would have already received some professional training by graduation.[29]

This philosophy had obvious implications for the education of the sexes: in the current system, Mahan noted, "young ladies in many of our highest seminaries study profoundly the science, abstract to them, of navigation and surveying, and never look into that of domestic economy" and that "things equally incongruous might be said of many of our liberally educated men." Like many other mid-nineteenth-century American educational reformers, Mahan grounded his argument in the supposed identity of Americans as a particularly practical people. His educational philosophy also fit well with his evangelical pragmatism: implement whatever reforms best facilitated constructing a righteous society. Mahan thus supported Oberlin's innovative two-track system of coeducation split into the College Course and the

Ladies' Course because it most efficiently trained both sexes; it allowed women and men to share the classes common to the education of both, while also receiving instruction peculiar to their future separate spheres.[30]

The early female principals likewise viewed women's higher education as a means to making the most of opportunities within their sphere rather than seriously challenging it. These women were steeped in the evangelical women's seminary movement in the years right before Lyon fully realized her somewhat less gendered vision at Mount Holyoke. The first principal of the Female Department to supply the position for more than a year was Professor Henry Cowles's wife, Alice, who served from 1836 to 1839. Alice Welch Cowles had studied under Joseph Emerson, who had earlier mentored both Lyon and Grant—the latter a friend and relative of Cowles. In setting the tone for the novel role of female principal at a coeducational college, Cowles naturally modeled it on the most similar one in existence—principal of a female seminary. Cowles, like Lyon and Grant, saw herself as part mother, part older sister, part teacher, and part pastor, and this vision would define the position in subsequent decades as well. Oberlin's female principal, however, emphasized specifically feminine responsibilities more often than Lyon would at Mount Holyoke. The vast majority of Lyon's talks to her students concerned topics of equal interest to Christians of whichever sex, while Cowles delivered more explicit instruction in the techniques of homemaking and child rearing. Cowles believed God designed women to support their husbands' calling primarily by working in the home, although secondarily by extending their influence beyond it.[31]

Cowles's desire to fully equip women for service to God meant she ultimately erred on the side of expanding rather than constricting their opportunities. She instructed female students on the content of biblical history, how to gain intellectual culture, and how to teach—and all of this outside their regular classes. Cowles originally opposed her charges enlisting in the traditionally male College Course, presumably because it seemed to violate the principle of distinct training for distinct callings. She was soon won over, however, possibly because the more advanced training would allow women a greater sphere of usefulness as teachers.[32]

The ascension of Oberlin's next president would prove a turning point for the institution. After the forced resignation of President Mahan, the faculty asked Charles Finney to take over the presidency to restore the peace. They wrote to the revivalist: "You are our natural head and leader." Finney agreed, and the desired strength and unity returned to the institution, along with a subtle change in character. Finney took the presidency at a moment when increasing numbers of students began attending because their relatives

held a perpetual scholarship rather than because they were enamored of the particular brand of Christian training for which Oberlin was known. Finney deplored the subsequent increase in worldliness he observed, so he focused more exclusively on what he considered the basics of Christian conversion. He hoped to first repair students' relationship with God so they could appropriately progress to the next step of specific social reforms, but the result was that under his watch Oberlin grew more broadly and generically evangelical, more mainstream.[33]

This shift away from "Oberlinisms" did nothing to dampen Finney's enthusiasm for coeducation; in fact, his interpretation of the logic of evangelical pragmatism made him a more thoroughgoing supporter of an expanded role for women than either former president Mahan or the new female principal, Marianne Dascomb. Finney did not advocate female ministers, but he did support public speaking by women and particularly women praying in mixed groups, perhaps because both tended to advance his revival ministry. Finney's views on Oberlin's female students are best captured by an incident that occurred in his theology class in the late 1840s. Finney instructed the collegiate capstone moral philosophy course, but mostly taught in the postgraduate Theology Department. Antoinette Brown, after graduating from the Ladies' Course, entered the Theology Department at that time as its first ever female student, although the school forbade her from enrolling formally. The Theology Department required all entering students to make a public statement as to their reasons for studying for the ministry. When her turn came, Finney moved to excuse her from this exercise, noting: "Oh, we don't ask the women to speak." But then he just as quickly changed his mind and said: "Certainly, if she is going to be a regular student, we must have her tell her experience. . . . If you think you ought to preach, you must preach. . . . You must act up to your own convictions. Nobody else has anything at all to say in the matter." This radical reply stuck with Brown and she noted more than forty years later: "These are his exact words, and they have been echoing in [my memory] like a bugle-note down all the intervening years." Under Finney's watch, women in the College Course first successfully gained faculty permission to read their essays before a mixed audience at commencement in 1859.[34]

Finney's female counterpart, Marianne Parker Dascomb, likewise deemphasized the earlier panoply of reform movements and focused instead on nurturing students' direct relationship with God and attendant basic personal morality. The wife of Professor James Dascomb had graduated from Ipswich Female Seminary in 1833 under Zilpah Grant and Mary Lyon. She thus embraced evangelical pragmatism, but a different interpretation of it

made her more conservative than Finney regarding how women could best train for divine service. Dascomb's perspective colored women's life at Oberlin for a significant period: she served an impressive eighteen years in the position of female principal, from 1852 to 1870. Although strict, she was generally beloved thanks in part to her wit and her motherly treatment of her charges—viewed as substitutes for the children she and her husband never had. Future Harvard president Charles Eliot would later recall that Dascomb confided to him in private conversation that she would never have let a daughter of hers choose the Collegiate over the Ladies' Course. Presumably her stance derived from the same logic that led Alice Cowles to initially oppose the first collegiate women pioneers: it seemed to repudiate women's God-given calling to minister to home and children. Future president Fairchild noted that Dascomb had no particular philosophy of education that she championed; rather, her decisions in regard to her charges were based more on common sense, motherly concern, and evangelical conviction. For Dascomb, women best served God by using an advanced education to excel within their traditional sphere and giving no cause for offense that might bring disrepute on God's work. Thus, most of her concerns as chair of the Ladies' Board regarded the regulation of how female and male students interacted so as to guard morality and propriety.[35]

When Finney's age and health forced his retirement from the presidency in 1866, the more socially conservative professor James Harris Fairchild took up his mantle. Fairchild's views on coeducation and its connection to improving American society sprang from a combination of his brand of evangelical pragmatism and his almost aesthetic sense of what constituted seemly behavior. Fairchild had been at Oberlin from its beginnings; he entered as a student in 1834 and went on to serve as both a teacher and an administrator. Fairchild was solidly evangelical, but gracious and nuanced, an anti-Mahan of sorts. He thus continued the broadening of Oberlin that had begun under Finney's presidency. While charitable, Fairchild was the most conservative of Oberlin's first three presidents with respect to the question of appropriate areas of service for women. Yet he also wrote and spoke prolifically in defense of coeducation over the years of his association with Oberlin, and he retained substantially the same position on women's higher education and its purposes throughout his career. He published formal defenses of the system in 1852 and again in 1868 after he took over the presidency. The latter report became one of the most quoted documents in the subsequent national debates over coeducation, which also took place during his presidency. Fairchild's interpretation thus arguably made the system seem less threatening to those newly considering it.[36]

Fairchild acknowledged that while all Oberlin leaders supported coeducation, he represented only one stream of thinking on its proper application. His first extended treatment of women's education dates to June 1849, three months after the death of Mary Lyon and one year before controversy would force Oberlin president Asa Mahan to step down. Fairchild, then professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, delivered an address to the student body entitled "Woman's Rights and Duties." In this speech, Fairchild aimed to quell the latest agitation for female students to be allowed to deliver their compositions in public like their male peers. Fairchild acknowledged up front: "I shall be obliged to express views which I have reason to suppose will be disapproved of by some whose characters I admire, and whose opinions I respect, and whom I should feel honored to be permitted to regard as my friends." President Mahan would have fit into that category, as well as audience member Antoinette Brown, who would publish a rebuttal to Fairchild in the *Oberlin Quarterly Review*. Nevertheless, Fairchild stood with all Oberlin faculty in affirming that women and men possessed equal intelligence (which he believed was supported by empirical observation) and labored under the same duty to develop their talents in such a manner as to best serve God (which he believed was supported by scripture).[37]

His rationale for believing men and women ought to use the same education differently grew out of the same practical bent toward maximizing the good Christians as a whole could do that animated the founding of Oberlin in the first place. Drawing on the commercializing society of mid-nineteenth-century America, Fairchild declared that the household "firm" would be "better managed" with a "division of labor" into "the in-door and . . . the out-door partner." Both would then develop maximum proficiency at their respective labors. The woman should be the "in-door" partner because the physical necessities of childbearing necessitated that she remain close to home, and her softer body and voice also fitted her for the gentle care of children and unfitted her for hard labor outside the home or projecting her voice in an assembly. Fairchild noted that God had therefore graciously created most women with an aversion to public life so that they remained content in their sphere.[38]

But what about the exceptions? Here, Fairchild appealed to a principle that underlay much of his thought: "propriety." Sentiment, or taste, he argued, was normative when it was common to all humankind because, in that case, it reflected the divine intent of creation. True, some women never married. True, some women desired to pursue the professions, including those that required public speaking. True, some had strong voices. But Fairchild

believed that the almost universal aversion to women speaking in mixed assemblies ruled out ministry or law as appropriate spheres for female work (and also ruled out Oberlin's female students reading their compositions in front of men). He went on to argue that medicine or teaching remained socially approved spheres of work for single women, but, again, pragmatism dictated that married women could not do them well because they could not put in enough time to develop proficiency.[39]

At the same time, Fairchild's pragmatism also made him a tireless defender of collegiate coeducation because he shared Lyon's beliefs that traditional educators, rather than reformers such as Mahan, had it right: undergraduate education should be "general cultivation" that would fit students for any occupation they would later pursue. Given this belief, even though men and women would have divergent occupations after graduation, they required the same sort of college education. Arguing from a physical parallel, Fairchild noted that just as both sexes needed light, air, and food before they could go about their different tasks, so also both sexes first needed the general knowledge and intellectual cultivation that college provided before they could pursue their respective divine callings with excellence. The largest number of people could receive this cultivation at a price affordable to them if institutions educated the sexes together.[40]

Fairchild drew on Oberlin's family-like communitarian sensibilities to defend coeducation against the objection that, even if otherwise desirable, it nevertheless violated the propriety that Fairchild considered a good indicator of God's intentions. Theologically, Fairchild argued that God had designed the sexes to be in relationship, as witnessed by the creation of the family as the building block of society. Empirically, Fairchild observed that God's wisdom in so doing could be seen from the fact that coeducation actually increased the morality, social development, and cultivation of both sexes—not to mention provided incentive for intellectual exertion. A coeducational institution more accurately mirrored society at large, and thereby reinforced to its wards their responsibility to broader society and not merely to their like-minded peers. Fairchild thought social cultivation was important because he believed that college fitted students for the more exalted positions in society—positions that, in keeping with Oberlin's democratic spirit, ought to be open to all those who were qualified. Fairchild concluded by responding to the most prevalent objection, that coeducation would lead to undesirable marriages. On the contrary, he believed exposure to the opposite sex on a regular basis decreased the unhealthy sentimentalism young people often built up about one another when not in frequent contact.

Coeducation led to more realistic matches and—important for Christians committed to traditional sexual morality—less impropriety along the way, as the administration could regulate the behavior of both sexes rather than only one.[41]

In Fairchild's judgment, coeducation would work at most institutions as well as it worked at Oberlin. He believed Oberlin contained an average mix of favorable and unfavorable conditions for the system; its success at that college therefore generalized. On the plus side, an unusually wholesome atmosphere pervaded both town and school. Also, coeducation was introduced from the first rather than added to a preexisting male college. On the minus side, the town had grown in size and come to contain quite a mix of classes from across the country and even a close integration of the races. Coeducation thus took place under the potentially difficult conditions of a heterogeneous environment. Furthermore, the college grew along with the town until its students could not receive the closer supervision available at smaller schools. Finally, the college founders had no previous experience with a similar school and so had to feel their way along as they went. Given coeducation's success in these conditions, Fairchild confidently recommended it for trial by other schools.[42]

Female principal A. A. F. Johnston, who overlapped most of Fairchild's presidency, similarly endorsed coeducation while simultaneously emphasizing the importance of propriety. Much like Fairchild, Johnston took over her role in 1871, owing to the ill health of her predecessor. Johnston's talks to her charges indicate that she continued Dascomb's emphasis on propriety regarding relations between women and men, but also that she newly extended it to behavior appropriate to a higher social standing. For example, Johnston urged Oberlin women to behave in a "well bred" manner and disallowed activities that did not directly relate to interactions with men, such as "sitting in each other's [that is, fellow female students'] laps" and "talking out of windows." In a turn of phrase that could have emerged from the mouth of President Fairchild, Johnston urged "not so much time spent in deciding what the Rules allow as in deciding what is fit and proper." In this manner, both administrators continued Oberlin's shift away from its initial social radicalism toward an ethos more acceptable among the nation's elite educators.[43]

This new emphasis on more refined deportment coincided with a shift in attitude regarding the overtly religious element in Oberlin's education. In a telling talk from October 14, 1874, Johnston sought to motivate the young ladies against "Whispering in Prayers." In addition to exhorting students to better honor God, Johnston appealed to the ladies' self-interest as to their reputation. She wrote: "No one vindicates this practice [of whispering in

prayers]. On the contrary, even she who is most addicted to it condemns it. And yet young girls who consider themselves ladies—who would resent the insinuation even that they even [*sic*] forgot what was becoming in the well bred [*sic*]—do not hesitate to earn a reputation as disturbers at Evening Prayers." Thus, upper-middle-class standards of propriety now supplemented theological conviction in influencing the nature of religious expression at Oberlin.[44]

Despite their similarities, Johnston and Fairchild did not present a unified front on the women's rights movement: Johnston favored it much more strongly. Yet her overarching commitment to propriety did temper her views. In a talk on "the woman question" from the same year as her admonition against whispering in prayers, Johnston opined:

> Something is wrong. There is no doubt about it. Else there would not be this universal unrest, this clamoring after rights, this adjusting and readjusting of woman's work and woman's duties, this discussion over woman's sphere, this wrangling about woman's wages. It is evident that we are in a transition state. Old things are passing away and behold all things are becoming new. . . . The boundary lines of woman's horizon will be found to have greatly receded. She will find it necessary to learn new rules of perspective. . . . This transition state will be inversely proportioned to the number of mistakes we make—the number of false conclusions we reach—Every mistake we make necessitates a backward movement—a readjustment—a loss of time.

Here she encouraged her young charges to be mindful of propriety as they pushed the traditional boundaries of woman's sphere—lest they find that in their immoderation they actually set themselves backward rather than forward.[45]

Gone was the radical reforming spirit of Oberlin's early years, and in its place both Johnston and Fairchild, in their different ways, urged a dignified, moderate, tolerant pursuit of progress and broad evangelical religion. Oberlin certainly remained distinct in the strength and totality of its commitment to disseminating evangelical Protestantism in and through its students. Yet the now gentler tenor of the institution and the filing of its rough rural edges—combined with the validation of its abolitionism by the Civil War—would help make Oberlin's innovation of coeducation more palatable to a nation that by that time was more ready to consider it.

Conclusion

As at Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, so at Oberlin Collegiate Institute women's higher education grew out of its founders' "evangelical pragmatism." Unlike Mount Holyoke, however, the institution at Oberlin emerged out of a community consisting of men as well as women. Evangelical pragmatism therefore dictated collegiate coeducation rather than single-sex education because it would mobilize as many people as possible, as cheaply as possible, to spread the Christian gospel. Coeducation proved successful at Oberlin and advanced certain benefits: it partook of the progressive, democratic spirit of the age; it educated women affordably; and it seemed to civilize both the men and the women who participated in it. This success would make Oberlin a rhetorical focal point in national debates over coeducation.

Though most of the founders of the first eastern women's colleges shared Mary Lyon's basic evangelical outlook, the group of educators debating coeducation would be more diverse. Early Oberlin's evangelical fervor had developed in a more socially radical direction than Mount Holyoke's, which would arguably have made it a more off-putting model—particularly for those not already sympathetic with its basic religious viewpoint. However, by the time educators widely deliberated collegiate coeducation, the college had tempered its activism. Thus, regardless of their outlook, discussants would generally consider Oberlin to be the most useful model of the system's possibilities and pitfalls.

For Oberlin, as for Mount Holyoke, the social utility of educating women was to prepare them to better achieve God's purposes. Beliefs about exactly how they could achieve those purposes varied more greatly at Oberlin than at the women's institution. On the one hand, Oberlin put more emphasis on traditional gender roles and propriety than did Mount Holyoke. After all, coeducation had never been tried and it was imperative to eliminate scandal—particularly in a biracial institution. Additionally, Oberlin's founders envisioned the school as a "sending city on a hill," a little community, a Christian family writ large, whose workings provided both its future missionaries and the outside world with a model of a good society. Finally, coeducation simply forced the question of gender roles more directly than did single-sex education. Along these lines, faculty and administrators such as President Fairchild and Principal Dascomb believed male and female graduates could most effectively spread the Christian message by intelligent service in the separate spheres widely accepted at that time.

On the other hand, other students, faculty, and administrators used Oberlin's religious ideology and activist history to push the boundaries of sexual

equality. Through the early 1870s, Oberlin students substantially embraced both the school's activist religious vision and its gender organization, but their voluntary organizations displayed an expansive understanding of gender roles. Additionally, faculty and administrators such as President Finney and Principal Johnston encouraged Oberlin women to consider advancing God's work in less traditional areas of service. On average, Oberlin students came away with a message similar to the one communicated at Mount Holyoke: gender mattered, but not as much as commitment to Christ. Female graduates generally elected religious or social reform work in areas that expanded but did not burst women's sphere. They did so not so much from the belief that society would benefit from expanded application of women's unique skills as from the conviction that all individuals, male or female, had the responsibility to spread the Christian message by whatever means. Whether other institutions would adopt coeducation would in turn depend on their leaders' beliefs about how best to create positive social change.

Chapter 4

Separate or "Joint Education of the Sexes"?

Religion, Science, and Class in National Debates

In his 1869 inaugural address as president of Harvard, Charles William Eliot appealed to the scientific method to solve the conundrum of whether collegiate coeducation was a wise idea. Eliot described coeducation, and indeed all forms of women's higher education, with what would become his favorite word for the subject: "experiment." Thus, changes should not be made to the structure of Harvard until much more data had been amassed. Three years later, Cornell president Andrew Dickson White issued a report on coeducation in which he also took a scientific approach to this question. Yet he reached the opposite conclusion. White claimed that if educators would simply examine the facts rather than bicker about theories—religious and otherwise—they would easily discover that educating the sexes together was the best way to approach collegiate education. Both men held similar modernist religious convictions and both valued science highly. Clearly, both also brought additional unspoken assumptions to the table.[1]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, almost all colleges, private and public, had seen themselves as serving both church and state, with "church" typically referring to evangelical Protestantism, either in its broad form or as embodied in a particular denomination, and "state" construed broadly to mean civil society. Private men's colleges, often funded by both denominational and local sources, tended to balance these commitments to

church and state. Meanwhile, public colleges emphasized serving the state, and those institutions that pioneered in the most advanced education for women, such as Mount Holyoke and Oberlin, emphasized serving the church. Service to the state most often meant producing the community's civic and economic leaders, or, minimally, its voters. Thus, those institutions that cared enough about extending collegiate education to women to override this association typically did so because they believed that best serving God meant providing women with higher education regardless of how much it would aid the state.[2]

Debates over coeducation during this era therefore revolved around whether there existed a religiously based moral imperative to educate the sexes together. These debates were supported but not dominated by analysis of the empirical results of coeducation. Institutions where service to church trumped service to state were more likely to advocate higher education for women. Even when already-established colleges had evangelical leaders (and the majority were indeed headed by evangelicals), the weight of these institutions' historic commitment to men and the state most often counterbalanced the potential usefulness of opening their doors to women with the goal of spreading the gospel.

Although Oberlin's widely acknowledged success made coeducation a viable option by midcentury, in the new cultural environment after the Civil War, the college's religious rationale for its system no longer carried much weight. A change in intellectual climate reversed the terms of the debate for leading intellectuals like Eliot and White: by the early 1870s, religious convictions became only supporting actors, while the empirical results of coeducation played the lead roles in the drama. Ironically, theology itself contributed to the reversal. The fallout from such bombshells as Darwin's 1859 *Origin of Species* and the advent of historical criticism of the Bible had placed Protestant evangelicalism on the defensive among American intellectuals. Although they typically retained traditional Christian morality, many university reformers and other American intellectuals rejected the common antebellum belief that the Bible formed solid ground for truth regarding God, humankind, and the natural world. Rather, they believed it to be a flawed document, representing only humans' gropings toward understanding at various times and places. In place of biblical revelation, many intellectuals searched for an alternative firm foundation for truth and found it in the natural sciences and the "scientific method."[3]

This "modernist" understanding of Protestantism, increasingly dominant among educational leaders, accordingly downplayed the more obviously supernatural elements of historic Christianity, such as faith in Christ's atoning death

and resurrection, and preached instead the ethical message that rightly relating to the community was what made one rightly related to God. Serving the public good now became almost tantamount to serving the church. Vertical spirituality, previously coexisting alongside horizontal spirituality at the majority of the nation's colleges, now collapsed into the latter. Thus, the argument that maximizing the number of educated women maximized the number of those fit to spread the gospel—even if they did not directly advance the interests of the state—no longer worked.[4]

The focus then shifted to rethinking how colleges could best contribute to the public good. In theory, this meant simply investigating whether coeducation in fact had positive results. In practice, however, doing so meant articulating how social change occurred—from the top down or the bottom up—and how women fit into that equation. To a certain extent, evangelical pragmatists had sidestepped this question. Although they greatly valued social change, they placed a higher priority on individual conversion. Furthermore, evangelical pragmatists believed social change to be the fruit of sufficient numbers of spiritually regenerated individuals. For modernists, though, convictions regarding the relationship of higher education to social roles generally shaped their interpretation of empirical evidence and thereby proved determinative of their stance toward coeducation.[5]

National Debates over Coeducation

Oberlin's novel policy of the "joint education of the sexes" slowly spread to other, mostly private midwestern colleges. The first to copy the plan was Michigan Central College (later, Hillsdale College), which admitted women when it opened in 1844. Its first president was an Oberlin graduate, and the Michigan institution admitted blacks and women with similar religious convictions to the Ohio one: Hillsdale's founders were Free Will Baptists who believed in providing a top-quality education to poorer students of both sexes, all races, and all denominations in order to best advance the gospel. Once collegiate coeducation's viability had been proven, a few more western institutions adopted the approach about a decade later. Antioch College in Ohio, headed by educator Horace Mann—famous for advocating universal public education—opened coeducational in 1853. As a proudly nonsectarian institution largely funded by Unitarians, Antioch pursued coeducation from the more liberal motive of equipping more citizens to aid in "national development." Then, in 1855, the University of Iowa opened as the nation's first coeducational state university. Building on a history of local support for co-

educational "seminaries" by pragmatically oriented Protestant denominations, the state university followed suit in order to attract sufficient students by appearing populist rather than elitist.[6]

The first nationally publicized discussion of collegiate coeducation, however, awaited the deliberations of the University of Michigan in 1858. The University of Michigan was the capstone of the Michigan educational system, the only public university in the state, provided free of charge to all who could meet its entrance requirements. It was rapidly gaining national standing thanks to reforms instituted under President Henry Tappan (1852–1863), who wanted to transform the University into a German-style institution that not only provided basic liberal arts training but also conducted advanced research. What happened at Michigan increasingly influenced colleges and universities nationwide. And in the 1850s, religious assumptions and religious language played a key role there, as they had at Oberlin: some believed God's design for the sexes mandated separate education, while others believed it mandated educating them together. Empirical results from Oberlin and Antioch supplemented the more theoretical grounds of the debate, but did not form the crux.[7]

The question was called for Michigan in 1855, the same year the University of Iowa opened. At that time, the Michigan State Teachers' Association met in Ann Arbor and published a report that favored coeducation throughout the Michigan public school system, including its colleges and universities. The association believed this system of education to be "the most natural method, the most just to both sexes, and the most economical, the most conservative of morals, and best calculated to develop symmetrical character in both males and females." The report advocated that coeducation be tried as an "experiment" and ended if it proved detrimental. Acting on this encouragement, in March 1858, Sarah E. Burger approached the regents of the University of Michigan with the news that she and twelve other young women planned to apply in June for admission.[8]

When the question of coeducation came before the regents, Tappan had already for several years been moving the university toward a model more conducive to jointly educating the sexes than the one widely prevalent up to that point. The traditional American college curriculum, based on the British system, focused on classical languages, mathematics, and philosophy as a means to develop the "mental discipline" that would allow a college student to succeed at any future line of work. In theory, this education would therefore benefit women as much as men, but in practice, the lines of work that most often valued and sometimes required such a preparation were the traditional professions of ministry, law, and medicine—all typically closed to

women. Tappan concurred that collegiate education ought to develop whole persons rather than focusing on narrow professional preparation, but he also believed a mix of old and new courses could accomplish both general formation and a wider variety of professional preparation. He thus advocated that the university "make it possible for every student to study what he pleases, and to any extent he pleases." Michigan therefore offered the traditional "classical" bachelor of arts curriculum, a scientific track, and other tracks geared toward preparing for the fields of manufacturing, commerce, agriculture, and civil engineering. This interpretation of the German educational principle of *lernfreiheit*—students' freedom to choose their own course of study—could have opened the door wide for including women: they could use this system both to train their minds generally and to elect training specific to their most likely future occupations of teaching or homemaking.[9]

Yet Tappan opposed coeducation at Michigan. This fact is all the more noteworthy considering the Michigan president's embrace of women's higher education in general. Tappan had briefly headed up a women's seminary and published a treatise on education, which declared that "woman has the same mental constitution as man" so "the education of woman . . . , as it is a development of the same kind, must also be essentially the same process." Tappan believed, in accordance with quintessential nineteenth-century separate spheres ideology, that the one difference between women's and men's higher education ought to be that "the education of men is to be conducted in reference to public action; that of women, in reference to private influence." Women's power to influence men for good required that they be "separated from the noise, the competition, and violence in which men are involved." That description often suited undergraduate campuses quite well.[10]

Tappan's beliefs regarding the moral purposes of higher education, at least at the University of Michigan, shed further light on his opposition to coeducation. Ensuring the existence of an institution that provided the highest possible learning as cheaply as possible to as many people as possible was important not to maximize those well prepared to spread the Christian message, but rather because in a democracy "the people share alike the sovereign power, and are alike eligible to civil offices." Here, "people" meant "men." Tappan also adhered to the principle of republican motherhood, broadly construed, in which well-educated women better influenced the voters and potential officeholders in their lives, but women's status one link down the political chain made their education at the state's flagship university less imperative for him. Evangelical pragmatism could perhaps have overridden his qualms regarding coeducation's potentially defeminizing aspects, but commitment to political democracy did not. Women could communicate the

gospel as directly as men, but they could not affect the political process as directly. Tappan cared deeply that higher education would advance morality as well as intellect, and he believed that true morality was only possible when students embraced religion, by which he meant Christian religion. He did not, however, possess the same sort of evangelical fire that animated the founders of Mount Holyoke and Oberlin.

The evil that Tappan battled was not irreligion (which he did not consider a real threat in a fundamentally Christian state such as Michigan) but rather sectarianism. The flame that burned hottest within his breast was the impulse to advance in the United States the Prussian system of education, "acknowledged to be the most perfect in the world." Sectarianism threatened the academic freedom of professors and students necessary to making this system work. The University of Michigan therefore advanced morality and religion through required attendance at broadly Protestant chapel services and in-class references to the basics of Christian belief common to all Protestant denominations, but Tappan discouraged "proselytism" as contrary to the spirit of a liberal institution of learning. With his focus on perfecting the state's system of education for the good of the body politic, he saw no benefit from incorporating women into a type of educational institution that could potentially threaten rather than advance the social role he believed them best fit to play.[11]

Thus, when the regents quickly convened a committee to consider the issue of coeducation at Michigan, it was under the shadow of Tappan's disapproval. The committee spoke with a more explicitly evangelical accent than Tappan, and religious considerations led them to display more sympathy toward educating the sexes together. In the end, however, their understanding of the historic purposes of collegiate education meant they ultimately reached his same conclusion. The committee's deliberations produced the "Report on the Admission of Females" submitted to the board in September 1858. The report reveals the three-pronged approach the committee took to their investigation: (1) they solicited opinions from the administrators of prominent colleges and universities, as well as eminent professors, politicians, and ministers; (2) they also sought views from administrators of two of the four colleges that had actually tried coeducation; and (3) they employed their own reasoning. Despite Tappan's love affair with all things German, the committee consulted only American educators and professionals, perhaps because the University of Michigan was a state institution and perhaps because coeducational colleges existed only in the United States.

Most of the eminent men polled (and they were all men) objected to coeducation on the same grounds as Tappan: collegiate education would unfit

women for the work God had designed them to do. To justify their assumption of different life paths appropriate to women and men, respondents cited perceived biological and psychological differences between the sexes, ultimately grounded in God's design as revealed in nature and scripture. Despite broad agreement that the traditional college curriculum's purpose constituted forming the mind for any future work, these men embraced the historic assumption that college constituted a training ground for professional and public life. Ignoring the fact that Michigan intended to offer a breadth of courses geared to varying future professions, many respondents argued that educating the sexes together in the same institution would prevent both from receiving the respective training needed for their future, quite different vocations. However, a few presidents of male colleges—notably, President Mark Hopkins of Williams College and prominent higher educational reformer President Eliphalet Nott of Union College—threw their weight behind trying the experiment. Both men agreed that God intended men and women for different life paths, but both believed coeducation might facilitate rather than hinder fulfillment of their respective vocations. Hopkins, whom the committee took pains to present as the recent presiding officer of the annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions—and hence a good Christian—favored opening the university to women provided some curricular differences were made available for each sex and that wise social regulations were put in place. President Nott claimed that private corporations were often unduly conservative; Michigan was a public university and it should heed the call of public opinion, albeit cautiously.[12]

The voices of actual experience with coeducation came solely from Oberlin College president Charles Finney and from President Horace Mann of Antioch College, which had copied the social regulations of its fellow Ohio institution. Oberlin's model thus dominated the practical side of the discussion at Michigan regarding the viability and potential value of collegiate coeducation. The presidents of both Oberlin and Antioch praised the virtues of jointly educating the sexes, but both also argued that its success required careful supervision of students. Finney and Mann agreed that properly implemented coeducation actually improved student behavior—it made men into gentlemen and women into ladies—and ultimately proved more practical inasmuch as it was far cheaper than establishing separate institutions.

The difference in the degree of caution the two men voiced corresponded to their divergent religious commitments. Mann had accepted the presidency of nonsectarian, Unitarian-leaning Antioch, both because of his commitment to equal (although not identical) educational opportunities for the sexes and because of his liberal religious leanings. As such, he concerned himself

more with student morality than with students' embrace of evangelical doctrines such as those Oberlin treasured. As fostering moral behavior among students thus loomed greatest in his thoughts, Mann actually counseled Michigan to forgo coeducation if they could not put in place the proper social strictures to guard against immorality. Finney's religious orientation made him simultaneously more and less cautious than Mann. On the one hand, the Oberlin president believed Mann's "high tone of moral sentiment" insufficient to create the proper atmosphere for coeducation; a "powerful religious influence" must also act on students. On the other hand, his bent toward evangelical pragmatism seemed to make him more optimistic that equipping more women for a greater sphere of usefulness was worth the risk. Rather than issue dire warnings, he simply invited Michigan's faculty to come and observe how to do coeducation well.[13]

On the one hand, the regents' committee leaned toward Finney's motivation and rationale. Speaking with a clear Christian voice, the committee praised the potential benefits of women's higher education by singling out British evangelical educator Hannah More for praise. They waxed eloquent that her writings had "awakened to the joys of salvation many a benighted and sin-sick soul." They further opined that women should be able to enter any sphere that "will enable them more perfectly to fulfill the object of their creation, which we will define to be the promotion of the glory of their Creator and the advancement of the welfare of their kind." Finally, the committee also agreed with Finney and Mann that "the society of a modest and virtuous Christian woman does exert a beneficial and refining influence upon the conduct and character of young men."[14]

On the other hand, against this wealth of potential benefits, the regents drew on Mann's counsel to reject coeducation at Michigan. The end of their report briefly dismissed coeducation as "inexpedient" there in light of the perceived costs, logistical and hence also financial, of creating the system of supervision necessary to integrating women responsibly—especially when educators remained so divided in opinion. Yet the university had no problem asking the state for additional funds to alter and expand its faculty and facilities to make the institution more in line with the German model; why women's education did not merit similar consideration is probably best understood from one of the committee's axioms stated early in the report. Their investigation began with the assumption that even though the law requires the admission of all "persons" who meet the entrance requirement, the regents may "exclude any person whose presence would detract from the character of the Institution . . . or from accomplishing the work of such an institution of learning." In the committee's mind, Michigan's flagship

university existed primarily to train men for public life; money spent on women detracted from this purpose. Still, true to their support for women's higher education in general, they recommended that the state do right by its female citizens by opening a parallel women's college. But as they might have realized, this proposition proved even more prohibitively expensive for state coffers.[15]

By the 1850s, popular opinion, still guided by the evangelical theology that dominated antebellum reform movements of all kinds, was shifting toward collegiate education for women. The Michigan debate reveals, however, that in cases where the religious imperative did not trump all others, the impetus for coeducation still often remained insufficiently strong to prioritize that change. A few institutions—such as Antioch—observed the success at Oberlin and instituted coeducation for reasons of their own, but even for Horace Mann other considerations could trump the importance of expanding women's education. After the Civil War, however, the idea of women's higher education in general, and coeducation in particular, would gain sufficient traction to overcome concerns at many more institutions that did not share Oberlin's brand of religious zeal. Although Oberlin remained the most discussed test case, the debate would shift away from the religious grounds that had first initiated the new system of education there.

Debates Continue into the 1870s

Just two years after the debate at Michigan, the Civil War drew the attention of educational administrators away from reform efforts. But it also made possible a great number of changes that would soon follow. In 1862, with the southern states out of Congress, the legislature was able to pass the Morrill Act, which granted federal land to each state if that state would use the proceeds to establish a university whose program included agricultural and mechanical training. The new state universities that formed as a result sought to provide multiple degree tracks to cater to the diverse educational needs of their citizens. Excluding women seemed less feasible in this educational environment. Besides, western universities needed to attract sufficient numbers of students to remain viable, and westerners preferred to educate all their children, girls as well as boys, as close to home as possible, as cheaply as possible. Dams holding back the growing support for women's collegiate education burst all across the West: Kansas State went coeducational in 1863, Indiana University in 1867, Ohio University and the University of Kansas in 1869, and the University of Michigan itself—ultimately respon-

sive to the people of the state—finally gave in to sufficient public pressure in 1870.[16]

This climate of postwar higher educational reform also made possible the election to the presidencies of prominent eastern colleges and universities reformers committed to improving standards of teaching and research, often, like Tappan, inspired by the German higher educational system. Noteworthy examples include former Michigan professor Andrew Dickson White at Cornell (1868), Charles William Eliot at Harvard (1869), Daniel Coit Gilman at Johns Hopkins (1876), and the more cautious Scottish reformer James McCosh at Princeton (1868). Meanwhile, coeducation swept the West, and new women's colleges such as Vassar (1865) rose in the East, soon to be followed by Wellesley and Smith (both in 1875). These developments combined to raise the question of coeducation for eastern colleges as well. Debate raged for several years after the admission of women into the University of Michigan in 1870.[17]

On one side of the debate stood Andrew Dickson White, president of the newly established Cornell University in New York. White hailed from a wealthy family who earned their money in business and took pains to emphasize the need to serve others so as not to spoil their son. White learned the lesson; he became an ardent abolitionist and advocate of coeducation. He believed providing education for as many people as possible constituted an ideal form of service: it would multiply the good by better equipping them to serve as well. Women and men made equally significant social contributions, and hence society would benefit from widely dispersing advanced education to both. Had White been an evangelical, he would have fit well into the tradition of educational reformers motivated by evangelical pragmatism. In point of fact, White embraced Protestant modernism. Thus, while he drew largely on Oberlin's example to argue for joint education of the sexes, he did so from a different set of assumptions and values than had engendered the system at that institution.[18]

White initially did not push coeducation at Cornell so as to first gain legislative approval in 1865 for founding the university. Though it opened to students in 1868, the opportunity to implement coeducation did not come until 1871, when Henry W. Sage, a member of Cornell's board of trustees, offered the institution $250,000 on the condition that it educate women as well as men. In a manner similar to the University of Michigan nearly fifteen years earlier, the trustees rapidly convened a committee to consider the matter. White wrote the majority report, a forty-page tome advocating coeducation.[19]

Throughout the report, White, who was committed to scientific modes of evaluation, mocked those who consulted educators who had never tried

coeducation for information on the subject. His first victim was, not surprisingly, the Michigan Report from 1858, issued during White's years there as professor of history and rhetoric. Drawing on recent Japanese modernization and contemporary anti-Chinese prejudice for a colorful metaphor, he castigated the Michigan regents' greater reliance on prominent men's college administrators than on those who administered coeducational colleges: "It was as if the Japanese authorities aroused to the necessity of railroads and telegraphs, had corresponded with eminent Chinese philosophers regarding the ethics of the subject, instead of sending persons to observe the working of railroads and telegraphs where they are already in use." White made it a point of pride in his report that he and Sage had actually visited many existing coeducational colleges and would rely solely on reports from those and other coeducational institutions in reaching their verdict. White contrasted theory and fact, and consonant with his theologically modernist beliefs, he threw biblical claims into the realm of the former: "Discussions as to woman's mental and moral capacity, her sphere of activity, her equality with man or subordination to him—theories, physiological, psychological, political, aesthetical and biblical . . . had been presented in endless variety; but . . . there is a vast body of facts." White thus proudly searched for an unassailable answer to the question of the wisdom of coeducation by collecting "facts" from coeducational institutions.[20]

White's commitment to fact collection meant he relied almost exclusively on American sources, and most prominently on Oberlin, which had practiced collegiate coeducation much longer than any other institution. He consulted only one foreigner, Englishman Walter Smith, and only because he had recently been made state director of art education in Massachusetts. Smith reported extensively on his experience teaching both sexes in England, but also shared a fact that may account for White's decision not to seek more foreign input: "Up to the present time, no grammar-school in the United Kingdom was open to girls, and at the present moment no University is open to them." Instead, Oberlin took up five of the forty pages, significantly more than any other institution. The nature of coeducation at that institution thus significantly shaped White's recommendations.[21]

White's research into Oberlin convinced him that coeducation produced the good effects claimed by its supporters without any of the ill effects feared by its detractors. His sources included both Professor Fairchild's oft-quoted 1867 report on the state of coeducation at Oberlin and also a personal visit to the institution that White made along with Sage. Their observations confirmed Fairchild's claims that coeducation improved the manners of both sexes; students' dining hall and classroom behavior surpassed that at any college they

had ever seen. Additionally, none of the feared side effects had materialized: Oberlin students of both sexes stayed in good health, continued to marry in normal numbers, and remained free from scandal. Indeed, both students and presumably disinterested town residents agreed that the results of coeducation were good. Finally, women did not lower the level of scholarship.[22]

An alternate model of coeducation—which seemed to produce the same good effects—was the other institution on which White spilled a fair amount of the report's ink: his former employer, the once reluctant University of Michigan, now proudly coeducational. In the intervening years, Tappan's replacement as president, Erastus O. Haven (1863–1869), had proven friendlier to the idea of incorporating women into the institution, and several prominent faculty members, some newly converted to the idea, had publicly championed coeducation. Arguably even more important, in 1867, the state legislature adopted a resolution spelling out the electorate's interpretation of how women related to the university's purpose: "The high objects for which the University of Michigan was organized will never be fully attained until women are admitted to all its rights and privileges." In January 1870, a new mix of regents then voted to defer to the will of the people. Thus, twelve years after declining to admit women for fear of not providing them an adequate social environment, the university had solved this problem by admitting them anyway. The university's leaders had long believed civilized Christian nations supported women's higher education, but that its own commitment lay first and foremost to the body politic, interpreted to mean the state's voting men. Once enough of that body demanded the university also educate its daughters, the university simply complied without bothering to spend money on additional oversight.[23]

The social organization at the University of Michigan was therefore the opposite of the one at Oberlin. No dormitories were provided for students and no rules governed their interactions with one another. Male and female students both had to find room and board in the town and they were left entirely to their own devices as to how they would choose to associate with one another. Horace Mann no doubt rolled in his grave. Yet interviews with students and faculty revealed that the entrance of women had raised the level of student conduct there too: no sexual scandal had rocked the school, and a janitor reported a dramatic positive change in student behavior as they passed from class to class. White agreed that the current state of affairs surpassed those he had observed during his years there as professor.[24]

All coeducational colleges and universities that were consulted reported similarly positive results, and the collective picture convinced White that the viability of coeducation did not depend on any one form of social organization.

Lending credence to White's claim to let the facts govern his recommendations, he thus proposed two possible means of admitting women to Cornell: creating an artificial town by surrounding the campus with houses rented out to professors where the women could board with families, or housing all women in a single large building overseen by a matron. Either way, White remained certain that their admission would be good for them and good for Cornell's male students.[25]

In the end, of course, White was not merely a dispassionate seeker of truth; his convictions about how to effect social change convinced him that coeducation was worth bothering with in the first place. Essentially, White, unlike the authors of the 1858 Michigan Report, believed women to be a central organ of the body politic and not merely an appendage. A university dedicated to the public good—Cornell was technically a private institution but received federal Morrill Land Grant funds—therefore had to make educating women a priority.[26]

White's religious convictions dictated exactly how he thought educated women would improve society. Like most other Protestants, both modernist and evangelical, White embraced the biblical description of woman as man's "help-meet" and interpreted the term to designate a separate female sphere of activity centered primarily on the home, but not rigidly limited to it. Here ended his similarity to evangelical pragmatists. Although White drew primarily on Oberlin's experience in making the case for coeducation at Cornell, he never once referred to that institution's religious rationale for educating women—because he held one almost precisely opposite. White claimed that women, as a group, clung too strongly to evangelical religion, and education would free them from this superstitious interpretation of the faith, thus allowing them to excel in their three traditional roles: to be better companions for their educated husbands who knew better, better teachers of a more enlightened religion to children, and better (more scientific) dispensers of charity. For the founders of Oberlin and Mount Holyoke, higher education enabled women to use—and sometimes transcend—their traditional sphere to convert others to evangelical faith. For White, higher education enabled women to fulfill the social duties of their traditional sphere in the best possible manner. He believed this function of higher education essential to creating a just and harmonious society, which he in turn considered to be the ultimate goal of proper religious teaching.[27]

Not all modernist educational reformers concurred with White's assessment of the public benefit of coeducation. Rancorous debates therefore ensued even as the movement gained increasing momentum in the West. Most prominent among these modernist opponents was Unitarian Charles Wil-

liam Eliot, president of Harvard. Eliot made his grounds clear in his 1869 inaugural speech: "The world knows next to nothing about the natural mental capacities of the female sex. Only after generations of civil freedom and social equality will it be possible to obtain the data necessary for an adequate discussion of woman's natural tendencies, tastes, and capabilities." Until that time (which he conveniently located generations in the future), "practical, not theoretical, considerations determine the policy of the University . . . Only one course is prudent, or justifiable when such great interests are at stake—that of cautious and well-considered experiment." By this, he meant commissioning some Harvard professors to hold a few separate lectures for paying women seeking to enhance their ability as schoolteachers.[28]

That perhaps something more than scientific objectivity informed Eliot's views is evident from the fact that he did not favor caution and conservatism with respect to his own favorite reforms. He readily abolished the centuries-old practices of a set curriculum and required chapel in favor of complete student freedom to elect their own classes and choose their own forms of religious expression. Rather, Eliot took a different view from White toward how to effect positive social change. Harvard's president believed the bulk of that burden should be carried by those at the top of the social hierarchy.[29]

In Eliot's understanding, this influential class constituted not only the rich but also the talented, yet was limited to men. Eliot, though privileged for much of his upbringing, hailed from a Boston Brahmin clan whose wealth had proved ephemeral in the 1857 financial panic. He therefore appreciated the vicissitudes of social class. Additionally, Eliot had embraced the ideals of elite Boston and worked hard for his success. He earned professorships in chemistry at Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) before his election to the presidency at Harvard. There, Eliot welcomed new talent from outside the Boston elite, but for the purpose of assimilating them into the class that he believed would shape the community, and ideally the nation, through its superior culture. Although Eliot believed the talented poor could rise into—and marry into—the Boston elite, he thought such things must be handled with care. Harvard's president bragged that the college admitted both rich and poor men, but feared that if such an institution also admitted women, imprudent cross-class marriages might result. As at Michigan in 1858, the potential benefits did not outweigh the risks. What united the rich and the talented were their ability to hold positions of broad public influence, an ability the women of those groups did not possess. Women could help transmit refined culture to the next generation, but it was men in public posts who diffused it widely. The latter's education therefore mattered more.[30]

Furthermore, Eliot believed a priori reasoning to be wholly against coeducation: surely women's and men's minds differed more widely from one another than did the minds of the men whose differences his elective system was designed to support. Similarly, he claimed all doctors concurred that women's bodies could not bear the same stresses as men's. Fuel for this fire came with the 1873 release of the book *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for Girls* by Harvard's very own professor Dr. Edward Clarke. Clarke argued that higher learning harmed women's bodies, especially their reproductive systems. Without the conviction that Harvard could best improve American society by making its superior educational resources as widely available as possible, Eliot had no motivation to question these beliefs.[31]

Other modernist educators and reformers did; with White, they believed positive social change—the ultimate goal of religion for them, as for Eliot—came as much from below as from above. This fundamental disagreement between White and Eliot played out both within the Harvard community and across the men's colleges of the East. Those who embraced bottom-up approaches to social change challenged Eliot's contentions on the nature of women's bodies and minds and advocated coeducation. Those who favored top-down approaches advocated caution and opposed the innovation.

In an 1872 report to a committee of the Harvard Board of Overseers, James Freeman Clarke, lecturer at Harvard Divinity School and radical Unitarian leader, advocated opening Harvard fully to women. He dismissed Eliot's objection to cross-class marriages because he believed Boston society too inbred as it was. Noting that coeducation was not an "experiment"—Massachusetts high schools and normal schools had been educating men and women of marriageable ages together for years with no difficulties or scandal—Clarke argued that admitting women would make the best use of Eliot's new elective system, which demanded a greater number of students to absorb the large number of classes provided by the scheme. The elective system would also answer any qualms about the need for men and women to learn some different subjects in college: both were free to choose whatever they might need. Other Boston area advocates of coeducation concurred.[32]

The following two years, Thomas Wentworth Higginson—a Unitarian minister, abolitionist, and women's rights advocate—also publicly advanced support for coeducation in general, and at Harvard in particular. Higginson argued that while rich women might be content to fill their hours with socializing, the daughters of the middle class rightly craved more education. In fact, the alternation of family success resulting from the children of the poor working harder and rising above the lazy rich was essential to the prosperity of a republic. Higginson dismissed *Sex in Education*, noting that it "has

merely given a few detached cases, whose scientific value is impaired by the absence of all proof whether they stand for few or many." In contrast, he amassed statistics from Antioch that revealed female college graduates (from a coeducational college, no less) were not only physically unimpaired, but were in fact healthier than their less-educated peers. In one of the few references to the international situation, Higginson added that women's minds had also proved equal to men's: they had passed the examinations given by Cambridge University in England, which were more difficult than the curriculum of the Cambridge university right down the road.[33]

In a minority report to the Williams alumni, Williams professor John Bascom argued for coeducation there out of similar views of social class. He claimed it was unjust to confine women to women's colleges: because they were still considered a luxury, they were more expensive than men's colleges, and because they lacked comparable prestige, they could not attract professors as qualified. Men's colleges lacked sufficient students to take full advantages of the facilities already available; though it might entail some additional expense, admitting women would therefore be both just and beneficial. The hidden assumption here, of course, was that even though women generally did not fill the same public positions as men, educating women would still substantially benefit society at large, and more so if that education extended to less-affluent women as well.[34]

Yet at most Eastern men's colleges, the majority opinion held that established colleges could best use their resources to serve society by focusing on society's most influential members: elite men. Amherst students, for example, complained that their college had been designed for men; adding women would require an expenditure of money to adapt the school to the newcomers, money better spent fulfilling the school's original mission. Even men more sympathetic to women's educational desires ultimately concurred. President John Raymond of Vassar, the nation's first prominent women's college, approved coeducation in general, but thought it would require too many expenditures at long-established eastern colleges to provide both the substantial supervision to avoid scandal and at least some adaptations to ensure the "aesthetic and social culture" he believed essential to women.[35]

How much these debates over the merits of coeducation reduced to theories of social change is exemplified by the ways in which each side made use of Oberlin's experience. The commitment to empiricism among the Protestant modernists who dominated the academy meant that none of these interlocutors explicitly drew on their theological assumptions to engage Oberlin's own religious rationale for its system, either in support or in criticism. Rather, much like White, they simply used Oberlin's experiences

as data, and they interpreted this data in accordance with their preexisting social commitments, sometimes with humorous results. Of course, Oberlin itself had made it easier for others to draw on its example without recourse to its core values—by moderating its earlier radical tendencies over time.

For his part, Eliot alleged at the 1873 social science convention that Oberlin's experience proved coeducation was actually losing, rather than gaining, popularity in the West and hence the East should not adopt the system. Unfortunately, Eliot was in error regarding the claim that formed the linchpin of his argument. He acknowledged that Oberlin was the most favorable example of coeducation in the world and believed Fairchild was rigorously fair in presenting its results. Eliot asserted, though, that Oberlin had begun by admitting women to the College Course, but women had preferred a separate curriculum that better met their needs and so a separate Ladies' Course (without the traditional study of the classics) had to be established. This false assertion appears to have come from misreading Fairchild's annual reports that noted a recent drop in women's enrollment in the College Course. Several friends of coeducation arose after Eliot's presentation to correct him on the point of the order of the establishment of women's curricula at Oberlin, and President Fairchild later issued a formal statement clarifying the matter. But fallacies spoken by Eliot easily took on the air of truth and were soon repeated by other opponents of coeducation. Amherst professor W. S. Tyler made liberal use of Eliot's mistake at the convention to argue in *Scribner's Monthly* against adopting that reform at Amherst. President Raymond at Vassar argued for the need of at least some curricular accommodations to women—likely he meant electives in art and music—by citing Oberlin as an example of a school that had failed to make sufficient provision and had consequently established a separate Ladies' Course of a lower, women's seminary grade.[36]

Higginson attempted to put out these fires by writing an editorial in the *Woman's Journal* and addressing his speech to the social science convention the following year on the same topic. Contrary to Eliot's claim that Oberlin's College Course had grown less popular with women over time, Higginson argued that when one accounted for the vagaries of enrollment fluctuation by analyzing attendance by decade rather than by year, the percentage of women in the College Course had increased—even considering that with the opening of other coeducational colleges and universities, it could reasonably have declined.[37]

Not only did debaters not step back and assess the implications of these findings from an explicitly religious perspective, but even the ways in which Oberlin's religious philosophy intersected with its approach to coeducation

were not evaluated on religious grounds. The Williams College Alumni Society disagreed with Eliot, Raymond, and Tyler and asserted that coeducation actually worked well at Oberlin, but argued that Oberlin's peculiar religious mission made its environment so different that its success did not indicate the viability of coeducation at Williams. Professor Bascom, however, agreed with Raymond and Eliot that comparatively few women completed the College Course at Oberlin, but argued that Oberlin's peculiarities disqualified it from being a fair test of coeducation! Oberlin's existence and success forced the question, but educators in the 1870s no longer answered the question with respect to assumptions about how women's education could serve the purposes of the church. Rather, they did so with respect to assumptions about how it could serve civil society.[38]

Results varied among the long-established eastern colleges. Eliot's view would ultimately prevail at Harvard. Commitment to a similar traditional interpretation of the purpose of a men's college prevented any real consideration of coeducation at Bowdoin, Dartmouth, Trinity, Yale, and Princeton. Seven other colleges debated the issue: Middlebury, Brown, Colby, the University of Vermont, Amherst, Williams, and Wesleyan. Three of the institutions chose for coeducation in the early 1870s; in most cases, finances tipped the scale. Two, Colby and the University of Vermont, did so for the exceedingly practical reason that admitting women would boost their falling enrollment numbers. Middlebury would later admit women in the early 1880s for the same reason. Wesleyan, however, did so in 1871 despite good, and indeed increasing, enrollments.[39]

Wesleyan bucked the trend by employing the rationale of evangelical pragmatism at a time when many other colleges were shifting toward modernism. Through the end of the nineteenth century, Wesleyan college presidents continued to teach and preach evangelical doctrine—indeed, one believed the United States to be "the great evangelizer of the world"—and revivals continued to sweep through the school. Wesleyan drew on its Methodist identity to argue that extending education to women ultimately benefited the church by producing more trained workers for God. The push for coeducation at the college was spearheaded by five highly influential Methodist alumni, one of whom argued that coeducation was a "great characteristic of the educational work and spirit of Methodism." Indeed, Methodists had more than twice as many coeducational colleges as any other denomination. Methodism in the United States had long been characterized by an innovative spirit directed toward spreading the gospel as far as possible. Methodist preachers did not remain within a parish, but rather took off as "circuit riders" to spread the message to surrounding areas. The denomination's

women, although historically not preachers, served as "exhorters," and by the 1870s, the denomination began to seriously consider ordaining them to be preachers as well. Not surprisingly, both the denomination and the college eschewed elitism for the same reasons. Wesleyan students came from modest backgrounds and received scholarships even though the college's tuition was less than half that of Yale, Williams, and Amherst. Though arguments for the social utility of coeducation met with success in the West and at some newly founded institutions such as Cornell, among longer-established eastern colleges—at least those in reasonable financial health—only an overriding commitment to serving the church seemed capable of inducing the change.[40]

Conclusion

By the mid-1870s, the upper tier of American higher education boasted three distinct types of institutions: men's colleges, women's colleges, and coeducational universities. By the end of the following decade, it would add a fourth: the women's coordinate college, a separate institution attached to a men's college where the professors of the men's college offered classes for women. For the most part, coeducation prevailed in the West and the various forms of single-sex education prevailed in the East.

The long history of eastern men's colleges made them more reticent to reinterpret their service to the state to include educating women. Additionally, despite their commitment to the state, most eastern colleges were actually private and hence less responsive to changing opinions within the voting populace in favor of coeducation. Exceptions to this rule were either strapped for cash or headed by evangelical pragmatists motivated more by service to church than service to state. Otherwise, both evangelical and modernist educational leaders in the East tended to believe that, regardless of the nature of their commitment to the church, the service their colleges owed to the state meant prioritizing men's education. They ascribed to a more top-down theory of social change.

Meanwhile, the relatively young—and also public—western state universities lacked the long history of exclusively male education. They thus converted more easily to coeducation in the face of voters' shifting opinions about how higher education facilitated social good. The models for coeducation used by western state universities—the private institutions of Oberlin, Hillsdale, and Antioch—had also sprung up in the pioneering West, the first

two founded by evangelical pragmatists and the third founded on the basis of the system's then proven success.

Cornell, newly founded during this era on the western side of an older eastern state, also rode the wave of the West, but not all such new institutions did. Johns Hopkins, in Baltimore on the Eastern Seaboard, charted a new course for its curriculum and university structure but declined to swim against the eastern tide of limiting instruction to men. At Cornell, Andrew Dickson White's social ideals led him to argue that a better society would emerge more quickly if as many women as possible received higher education in preparation for their future roles. Some other modernist educational reformers in the East agreed, but those with the most clout—such as Charles William Eliot at Harvard—did not. They thought higher education best served modernist goals of social improvement when it concentrated its resources on the most influential members of society: elite men. Many such colleges allowed the establishment of coordinate women's colleges as a means of retaining their focus on elite men in the face of demand for women's higher education.[41]

Just as convictions about how higher education best facilitated social change shaped women's access to American colleges and universities, so also would they shape the nature of the moral messages both men and women received there. All four types of institutions birthed among these debates—newly self-consciously men's colleges, coordinate women's colleges, independent women's colleges, and coeducational universities—would alike need to justify their existence by communicating to their students and the world the use to which their education would be put. A new cultural climate would combine with educators' shifting religious convictions to color those messages in increasingly sex-specific hues.

Part 2

The Rise of Gendered Moral Visions, 1868–1917

Chapter 5

The Chief End of Man and of Woman

Princeton and Evelyn

"What is the chief end of man?" asks the first question of the Westminster Shorter Catechism. This historic teaching tool of the Presbyterian Church, the denomination with which Princeton had close ties, had for generations shaped how the prominent mid-Atlantic college's presidents and faculty conveyed to students their moral duties. Specifically, Princeton's leadership communicated a moral framework that reflected the catechism's answer: "Man's chief end is to glorify God, and to enjoy him forever." In other words, the chief moral duty was to relate rightly to God. All other moral duties incumbent on those privileged enough to receive a college education would flow naturally from this one. The Westminster divines had meant "man" in the generic sense of "human," but social and intellectual changes in the late nineteenth century would prompt Princeton's leaders to consider more carefully how they might communicate to students the chief end of "man" specifically.[1]

Prior to that time, Princeton had been in many ways the quintessential nineteenth-century denominational college, and before that a classic colonial college. In 1900, when it joined the elite cadre of institutions to found the Association of American Universities, it was one of the only such colleges to be recognized for transitioning to university status. As an institution widely acknowledged first as a prominent denominational

college and later as a prominent university, Princeton provides a clear window into how the various changes roiling higher education at the turn of the century combined to produce a new, more gendered approach to student moral formation at those elite men's institutions that rejected coeducation.[2]

It also sheds light on the influence of this approach on women's higher education. Princeton joined several other eastern men's colleges in containing the local demand for women's higher education by establishing a separate coordinate women's college. As per the coordinate plan, Evelyn College students took classes from select Princeton professors who—from the goodness of their hearts or the poverty of their purses—offered to reteach their classes to paying women at a different time and place. The women's college lasted for all of ten years, from 1887 to 1897, before collapsing for lack of funds. Few records remain, but those that do are illuminating. Josephine Curtis, an 1892 graduate, left behind a scrapbook of her years at Evelyn, and right in the middle of the scrapbook she preserved a copy of her senior ethics exam. The first question was, "What is the chief end of man?" Curtis probably wrote the answer her professor was looking for, but even a cursory glance through the rest of her scrapbook reveals that Curtis thought the chief end of man, or at least of woman, was social dancing. Curtis was not the only social butterfly Evelyn attracted; desperately in need of funds, the college marketed itself to wealthy women. To do so, it portrayed its primary moral contribution as forming in students the cultured feminine graces believed to give elite women their greatest influence for good.[3]

Meanwhile, resisting coeducation in this way allowed Princeton to make a bid for national prominence by downplaying denominational particulars and instead portraying its own primary ethical contribution as forming in students the moral traits specifically associated with elite men and their unique social roles in the community. Thus, competition for students and reputation led both institutions to make use of the widespread shift toward a more horizontal understanding of spirituality among American educators to make not only their institutional identity but also the moral aspects of their education more centered on the sex of their students. In an era when women for the first time could access an education truly comparable to men's, leaders at these private institutions continued to communicate to students that educated men were nevertheless uniquely suited for public leadership roles by virtue of their sex.

Early Princeton

Princeton's founders, like those of most colonial and antebellum American colleges, had intended the institution to serve both the church and the state. The Great Awakening of the 1740s ignited their desire to erect a third college in the northern colonies in 1746; neither Harvard nor Yale had proved warm enough toward the revival. Though the founders were middle-state Presbyterians, they still avoided establishing a religious test for students so as to gain the support of the religiously diverse New Jersey population. The founders made this dual purpose explicit: "Though our great intention was to erect a [school] for educating ministers of the Gospel, yet we hope it will be a means of raising up men that will be useful in other learned professions—ornaments of the State as well as the Church." Princeton's religious identity was to be preserved by the fact that all faculty members, along with the majority of trustees, were to be Presbyterian.[4]

Like most college founders of the era, Princeton's leaders thought a college could best serve the public good by producing godly leaders, for the church and for local and colony affairs. In other words, they believed positive social change came mostly from the top down. Through their character and wisdom, these leaders would then set the course for the nation as a whole. In both colonial and antebellum American society, such leaders were male, white, and generally fairly well-off. Flexibility was limited to the final point; at various times, Princeton sought to establish scholarships to admit white men who had the talent but not the resources to fulfill these positions of public trust. Monetary assistance could transform them into fit leaders in a way not believed possible for women or members of other races.[5]

Yet the primary moral preparation college leaders sought to give students for these sex-specific future responsibilities was simply Christian conversion and growth. With the partial exception of the senior moral philosophy course, which made some concrete ethical applications of the rest of the curriculum, students' extensive religious training did not explicitly connect to their future roles as elite men. Rather, it sought to make students into godly people in general. Hence, much of the religious program at Princeton and other early colleges could and would later be adopted by future evangelical women's seminaries. Princeton students lived and studied together in a single building, which allowed considerable faculty oversight of their behavior. They attended frequent divinity lectures as well as the chapel services required of them twice a day. The college president—responsible for campus religious life by decision of the trustees—also met with students individually for private exhortation. Finally, administrators and faculty prayed for revival. As

hoped, periodic religious revivals indeed swept the campus; during Princeton's early years, its students generally proved receptive to the college's conversion-oriented religious message. Also as hoped, in addition to filling secular positions of power, many of the converted served the church directly: in its first twenty years, a striking 47 percent of Princeton's graduates entered the ministry.[6]

During the Revolutionary Era, Princeton's leaders, most notably college president John Witherspoon (1768–1794), then shifted emphasis from church to state. Likewise, instead of stressing the power of revival to form godly citizens, they focused on how the intellectual content of a broadly Protestant faith could ground American political ideology and instill the virtue needed for both church and state to thrive. Princeton's leaders took great pride in training more of the civic leadership of the years that gave birth to the nation than did any other college; accordingly, the percentage of ministers produced decreased, although it remained at a respectable 21 percent. Despite superficial appearances, this new approach to moral formation was still not very male-specific. After the Revolution, the growth of the ideology of "republican motherhood," broadly construed, meant that even the civic virtues Princeton educators of that era hoped Protestant doctrine would imbue would have been widely acknowledged as useful for women seeking to influence the male voters in their lives.

Unfortunately for Princeton's leaders, when students in the early republic increasingly focused not on their civic responsibilities but on their civic rights and privileges, they stopped buying into their elders' religious message. One 1801 graduate (who likely had stringent standards) reported only three or four professing Christian students in the college during his time. At any rate, the percentage of graduates who entered the ministry in the years 1803–1806 reached a low of 9 percent, in part because Princeton was losing its reputation as the godly place to send young men aspiring to such a position.[7]

Then, in 1807, a student riot against an unpopular disciplinary decision convinced Princeton's administrators and faculty that their forebears had been right: propositional religious truths alone lacked the power to instill virtue in students. Though student rebellions were relatively frequent across antebellum American colleges, the unusual severity of this one shocked Princeton leaders into a course change. They swung back to believing that student moral formation required the change of heart brought on by revival, and subsequently also returned to serving the church more directly. In Princeton's case, doing so meant catering to its founding denomination by emphasizing distinct Presbyterian doctrines, not only broadly evangelical ones. At the same time, in keeping with new nineteenth-century trends among American

evangelicals, Princeton embraced the ideal that social change could occur not only through church or civic leaders but also through those who initiated voluntary reform work such as temperance advocacy. Endorsing voluntary societies as a viable means of social change meant that Princeton's intellectual and spiritual formation could potentially have been of use to the many women who, for the first time in American history, banded together into benevolent organizations during that period. Princeton leaders simply never questioned their mission to serve society by training leaders of both church and state.[8]

As leaders smiled on student voluntary associations, students returned to greater support for the administration's moral vision. They established their own religious organizations such as the Nassau Hall Bible Society in 1813, the Princeton Sabbath School Society in 1815, the Nassau Tract Society in 1817, and, most significant, the long-lasting Philadelphian Society, dedicated to Christian fellowship among its members, in 1824. Princeton's new culture correlated with somewhat more orderly behavior, as students violated the rules less often and less flagrantly. The first Princeton revival in twenty-five years occurred in 1815, part of a slew of revivals during the Second Great Awakening that took place at like-minded schools such as Yale, Dartmouth, and Andover. Furthermore, after the founding of the Philadelphian Society, the percentage of graduates entering the ministry rose to a third. Effectively, then, despite a brief dip during the early republic period, Princeton continued to realize its moral vision, albeit not as well as in the college's earliest years and not as well as institutions run by evangelical pragmatists would realize theirs. Throughout all this flux, Princeton never oriented students' ethical training toward the unique moral responsibilities of their future roles as elite men; rather, the institution employed techniques believed to produce mature character in all people.[9]

Princeton's post-riot moral outlook would continue through the rest of the antebellum period relatively undisturbed by internal or external events. In the more than forty-year span from 1823 to 1868, the college experienced only two presidential administrations, those of James Carnahan and then John Maclean Jr., both Presbyterian ministers. Both were of like mind, largely because Carnahan, not particularly visionary in and of himself, leaned heavily on Maclean, who served as professor and vice president before succeeding Carnahan in the presidency in 1854. During most of this period, it was Maclean who chiefly dealt with student discipline issues, who strengthened Princeton's ties with its alumni and with the Presbyterian Church, and who led the movement—and raised the money—to hire better-quality faculty, all of whom he nevertheless ensured were pious Presbyterians. Maclean's

influence from the early 1820s through the end of the Civil War would guarantee that Princeton held the course of both its moral vision and its approach to student moral formation.[10]

During these years, Princeton continued to view itself as having a dual mission to serve both church and state, now with slightly more weight on its obligation to the church. Much of the institution's self-understanding is revealed in its centennial celebration, held in June 1847. Repeated in speech after speech of those associated with the institution as well as those dignitaries invited from the outside is the claim that Princeton, along with all colleges, exists to train up "patriots and Christians," specifically those who will hold prominent posts in state and church, because the character of those in positions of social responsibility largely determines the character of the people of the nation as a whole.[11]

Specifically, Maclean believed Princeton existed primarily to train "all classes of professional men" because they would be "the guides of society." By "professional men," he meant those entering the classic liberal professions—the ministry, law, and medicine—as well as those pursuing statesmanship or higher study of the arts or sciences. During his tenure as president, almost all Americans filling these posts were literally "men" and Maclean assumed as much when he used the term. He distanced women from his understanding of Princeton's mission even further when he argued against the understanding that "the student may be considered as an end unto himself; his perfection as a man simply being the aim of his education." Rather, colleges aimed at "the advancement of learning in all the various departments of liberal knowledge and professional life" so as to secure "the welfare of the whole commonwealth." In other words, colleges were essentially public institutions dedicated to the public welfare, not private ones dedicated to individual welfare. Such an attitude implicitly cut out women, who could benefit from intellectual culture but could not fill academic or professional posts.

Yet the moral formation of such leaders remained gender neutral. Specifically, Maclean simply sought to impart to students "the lessons of revealed truth and the elements of human knowledge" and also to foster revival. In his words, "the frequent outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon the youth of our College will be the best guarantee that it will never become a College of mere learning." Although Maclean believed that ultimately only God could initiate a revival, he thought that the college's leadership could still make this event more likely. Thus, Princeton's president required that students attend not only classes where religious doctrine was taught but also chapel services where God was worshipped. Once converted, graduates could then take the lead in changing the nation for good.[12]

Maclean's advice for discerning the vocation through which graduates could best fulfill this charge focused more on them as unique human individuals than as elite men destined for specific social roles. Namely, he counseled them to give careful thought to how best to glorify God given their particular talents and inclinations. And regardless of the path they chose, Maclean reminded students that their privileged education invested them with a responsibility to use it to serve the less fortunate. The only element to his exhortations that explicitly acknowledged his hearers' privileged access to certain social roles was a special plea that students consider whether God might be calling them to ministry.[13]

Students continued to adhere to the administration's moral vision to a fair extent. Pranks continued, and the loyalties of many students lay first with a student group—a literary society, a class, a fraternity—and only second with the college as a whole. One of these groups, though, was the Philadelphian Society, which by the mid-1830s had a significant campus influence that largely reinforced the administration's message. Whether because of its activities or because of the approach of Carnahan and Maclean, or both, growing numbers of students embraced the religious as well as the intellectual and social component of their college experience. They increasingly saw themselves as the administration hoped they would: as Christian gentlemen prepared to guide national affairs with wisdom.[14]

Evangelical Reformers as Presidents

In 1868, educational reformer James McCosh, famed Scottish theologian and philosopher, took over the presidency of Princeton from fellow Presbyterian minister John Maclean. The wider intellectual environment in which McCosh would serve looked quite different from the one his predecessor had known. McCosh took the reins as agitation began to brew for reform in American higher education. As Tappan had tried earlier at Michigan, many colleges and universities were beginning to update their curriculum and organizational structure with two aims in view: first, to place some emphasis on research and, second, to provide more types of preprofessional training. Two pressures, somewhat at odds, accounted for the change: the example of German higher education, and public demand for education more relevant to the American economic and social structure. Students' demand for more determination of their own collegiate experience manifested not only in an altered curriculum but also in the expansion of extracurricular activities, including the rising importance of college athletics. Finally, arguments that

higher education also ought to prepare women for their roles, particularly as teachers of the next generation, led to opening women's liberal arts colleges and expanding traditionally male state universities into coeducation.[15]

In view of all these changes, McCosh sought to preserve the essence of Princeton's heritage by carefully adapting some of the new measures, while defending what he perceived to be the core of the inherited tradition. Princeton's new president rearticulated the value of the traditional required curriculum, heavy on classical languages, mathematics, and philosophy. He believed it taught students how to think and thus prepared them for any future work in which God might later lead them. Yet he also allowed upperclassmen to elect a few classes in an area of specialty. Similarly, McCosh embraced but sought to moderate the new emphasis on extracurricular life and athletics among students. Since the Civil War deprived the institution of its previously strong southern support while making others suspicious of its loyalty, Princeton's reach had shrunk to the mid-Atlantic region. McCosh sought to return the school to national prominence by doubling the size of the student body over the course of his twenty-year presidency. In pursuit of this goal, he expanded and improved Princeton's dormitory accommodations and canvassed preparatory schools for students who might otherwise go to Harvard. Both innovations drew more wealthy students, though he retained a strong commitment to scholarships for poor students. Finally, at the very end of his term, McCosh would even nod to women's education, permitting the establishment of Evelyn College half a mile from campus.[16]

But religious as well as intellectual winds were also shifting in the world of higher education. For example, Harvard president Charles William Eliot exemplified not only the trend away from a required curriculum but also the trend to drop mandatory doctrinal instruction and chapel attendance. The rise of Protestant modernism and the realities of a growing pluralism undergirded this move. Modernists, like evangelicals, transmitted their beliefs to students through chapel and courses that touched on Christianity, but these means were not as essential to modernist goals as they were to evangelical ones. Evangelicals needed to communicate a detailed message about the nature of God to facilitate a right relationship with that God, which would then overflow into proper human relations. Modernists, however, needed first and foremost to transmit the attitudes and social roles that enabled students to best serve their community, which would in turn make them right with God. Besides, de-emphasizing chapel and doctrinal instruction would make more space for Catholics, Jews, and nonbelievers, and thus give an institution greater claim to speak for and to the nation as a whole. Modernists therefore often relied on the humanities to inspire students with

notions of the true, the good, and the beautiful; on the sciences to inspire selfless pursuit of truth; and on student social life to expose students to a range of different people so as to foster democratic sensibilities.[17]

Yet here McCosh would not compromise; he held the line on the historic content and practice of religion at Princeton. McCosh rejected much of the new biblical criticism and defanged Darwinism by declaring it compatible with historic Christian doctrine. McCosh continued to urge students to convert to evangelical Christianity both because he believed their eternal souls were at stake and because he believed morality would not survive if not grounded in what he believed to be true religion. The ethics of all Princeton graduates mattered for their own well-being, but also because their likely public prominence would make them beacons of right morals.[18]

McCosh clearly thought in the gendered terms of his day—assuming men and women would fill different social roles—but proved to be the last Princeton president for whom these terms did not define the essence of religious and moral formation at Princeton. McCosh spoke frequently of his hope that students would grow into "cultured gentlemen" or "educated gentlemen," but not so much in distinction from women as in distinction from the "coarse" men whom he believed overemphasis on athletics sometimes produced. He enjoined students to exert "manliness" in the sense of courage of convictions, but then turned around and applied the same word in the same sense elsewhere to young women. Strikingly, McCosh ended one of his baccalaureate sermons to graduating seniors with the metaphor that as they left college depending on God for guidance, they would "have much the same feeling as the daughter has when she has to leave her mother's house to enter into a house of her own, with one she can trust." McCosh clearly took seriously the dominant biblical interpretation of his era that husbands led and wives followed because marriage symbolized the relationship between Christ and the church: men could and should metaphorically place themselves in the position of women when relating to God. In McCosh's mind, the same basic traits—"masculine" courage and "feminine" trusting submission—constituted religious and moral maturity in both men and women.[19]

McCosh's successor, Francis Patton, also continued to hold the evangelical line, but he made more accommodations to the new intellectual, social, and religious environment of the late nineteenth century. On the one hand, Patton sustained McCosh's style of religious commitment throughout his 1888–1902 presidency. Patton too was a Presbyterian minister and philosopher; he too believed a Presbyterian college should actively defend what he believed to be the historic Christian faith. He thus articulated many of the same

arguments as McCosh about the value of religious training for the individual's personal relationship with God.[20]

On the other hand, Patton swung the pendulum toward greater emphasis on Princeton's value to the state than on its value to the church, and also from vertical toward horizontal spirituality. McCosh had explicitly urged graduates to consider the ministry, but at Princeton's 1896 sesquicentennial, Patton argued that religion at Princeton did not so much serve to form ministers as to form "men of moral courage and religious convictions, public spirited, patriotic, and possessed of clear, balanced, and discriminating judgment in regard to public opinions." The president flagged not only Princeton graduates' leadership in the professions, but especially their involvement in affairs of state; he happily trotted out the statistic that the university had produced more of the statesmen that helped found the nation than any other institution.[21]

In the context of the late nineteenth century, emphasizing how religion at Princeton contributed to the highest halls of worldly power meant advocating sex-specific character formation. To raise its academic quality to the level of a true university, Princeton needed donations from alumni and prominent Presbyterian businessmen. Patton thus sought to make Princeton's religion compatible with the concerns of the "muscular Christianity" growing popular with elite, native-born, white Protestant men. Toward the turn of the century, such men felt threatened by the growing social and political power of women and immigrant men. These anxieties led to an obsession among middle-class men for asserting traits associated with masculine power: strong and active bodies, tough-mindedness, and physical and moral courage, among others. In the religious realm, concern grew about the low ratio of men to women in the church—although it was actually no lower than usual. Advocates of muscular Christianity argued that Protestant men needed to take intentional action to improve both the church and the world or risk losing their virility. Muscular Christianity thus emphasized working hard at interpersonal ethics more than relying on God to transform individuals. Likewise, it emphasized active volunteer work in the community more than passive reflection on a sermon in church. Both emphases dovetailed with the overall shift from vertical to horizontal spirituality among many Christian intellectuals.[22]

Patton therefore shut the college gates against the tide of women entering higher education, and instead presented Princeton as an institution that formed this new type of Christian man. Indeed, Patton sought to convince students of the merits of evangelical religion by appealing to their concern to be the type of men who had what it took to merit society's positions of

power. The president concurred that a masculinity crisis existed within the American Protestant Church: "It is intrinsically harder for men to be religious than women," he told the students, because of "the special temptations to which men are subject" and "the irreligious atmospheres into which they are thrown." Yet he argued that it was even more important for young college men to be trained in the faith than for their sisters because it would be these young men "who for good or ill will shape the history of the next generation." In this way, Patton appealed to student pride in their social privilege as men in order to secure their buy-in to evangelical faith. Even more directly addressing students' potential associations of religion with women, Patton asserted: "There is no reason why a man should forfeit his manliness by being a Christian." Using the prevailing martial metaphors of muscular Christianity, he chided that "instead of being a stout club with which we knock temptation on the head; instead of being a sword wherewith we slay our spiritual enemies, [faith] is regarded rather as a very weak companion that we must nurse tenderly and that cannot go out at night." It is difficult to envision Patton following McCosh in enjoining students to see themselves as Christ's submissive wife.[23]

But focusing on masculine character development also meant shifting focus away from the explicitly religious aspects of moral formation. Patton's preference for male-oriented morality led him to play up the moral power of student fraternities and athletics, at least when speaking to alumni and donors who valued their masculine image and their ability to instill the normative social behavior that would equip men to gain public influence. For comparison, McCosh had taken a more nuanced view. The former president had been less concerned with fostering male moral traits and more concerned with fostering general ones. This different calculus had led to a different evaluation of Princeton's extracurricular life. McCosh had believed that the growing student Greek life could "foster pleasant social feelings" and "create a taste for oratory"—both traits historically necessary for success in the male-dominated public sphere. Nevertheless, he claimed they often did more harm than good: student societies maneuvered to win prominent prizes and positions for their members and sought to subvert college discipline. These outcomes led to the gender-neutral vices of pride, deceit, and rebellion. Likewise, McCosh had appreciated the role of Princeton athletics in training the body, but feared they could distract from other, more important aspects of college education, such as development of the mind or heart.[24]

For Patton, however, the ability of fraternities and athletics to instill masculine traits trumped other concerns. Patton praised students' honor culture

and the initiative they showed in forming organizations as expressions of their "manliness." He argued that the purpose of Princeton's in loco parentis regulations was to provide an environment conducive to students learning to take hold of their "manly independence" in a responsible way. Accordingly, he challenged students to abolish abuses such as hazing so as to decrease the need for regulations they saw as an affront to their manhood. Students responded; in 1893, student self-government at Princeton took a major leap forward with the adoption of the honor code. Regarding athletics specifically, Patton claimed they taught discipline, courage, exertion, and cooperation in the service of a common goal, what Patton called "the lessons of manliness." He therefore affirmed athletics as "agent[s] of moral reform" and praised their role in college life to alumni.[25]

The explicitly religious and not merely moral aspect of students' college education also increasingly took place not in the classroom or chapel, but within this masculinity-oriented extracurricular life. National trends in higher education—away from faculty acting in loco parentis and toward freeing them to focus on research—encouraged professors to hand off the religious supervision of students to others. Although Princeton retained required chapel, diminished evangelical instruction in the classroom led Patton to lend administrative support to Princeton's voluntary student Christian organization, the Philadelphian Society; the organization hired a full-time graduate secretary in 1893. This immensely popular student group was a leader in the national movement to create Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) branches at college campuses. The Philadelphian Society and the wider collegiate YMCA movement partook of the concerns of muscular Christianity, and hence reinforced Patton's religious message.[26]

Thus, religious education under Patton retained some of its former emphases while also departing in new, more gendered directions. Patton believed individual change came from conversion—which required the same thing of all people—but he believed social change came not primarily from the church, but from the public leadership of (hopefully converted) prominent men. To attract such men and their dollars to Princeton, he spoke of a conversion-oriented faith in a language tailored to them rather than accessible to all. Patton continued to support the traditional location of spiritual and moral formation at Princeton with required chapel and Christian instruction in the classroom. Yet he proved more willing than McCosh to baptize other areas of the college experience into his overarching goal of forming a certain type of male Christian. Patton thus held nongendered and gendered aspects of moral formation in tension: the conversion required of

men and women, rich and poor alike, and the development of the positive characteristics required for success by elite men specifically.

The Brief Career of Evelyn College

Renewed emphasis on training for public service to the state implicitly excluded women from the university's mission. Patton also made this exclusion explicit. In response to a reporter's inquiry, Princeton's president dismissed coeducation as out of the question, announcing in 1894: "I am opposed to it. It is not necessary for me to state why I am opposed to it. There will never be any such thing as co-education at Princeton; it is impossible. I *cannot imagine* what would result if 1,000 young women were grouped upon our campus. Our facilities are unequal and we do not favor the theory."[27]

Nevertheless, some of Patton's arguments for Princeton's liberal arts education could have applied equally to women. He continued to adhere to a version of the traditional mental discipline theory of college education, wherein a broad range of required studies trained the mind to be able to learn any future task more quickly. He also argued for the intrinsic satisfaction that a cultured intellect brought to its possessor. Both of these arguments were commonplace among advocates for women's higher education throughout the nineteenth century. Patton himself saw the connection: although he actively excluded women from Princeton, he served on the board of Princeton's short-lived coordinate women's college for its entire ten-year run, from its founding in 1887 at the end of McCosh's presidency through its collapse in 1897.[28]

Evelyn College grew out of discussions among several Princeton graduates interested in the higher education of women. Chief among them was Presbyterian minister J. H. McIlvaine, an 1837 graduate and previously professor of belles lettres at Princeton, who would become Evelyn's president. These men wanted to provide the women of New Jersey with what Pennsylvania provided through Bryn Mawr; New York through Vassar; and Massachusetts through Wellesley, Smith, and the Harvard Annex (later, Radcliffe): a top quality women's college. Because a coordinate college required far fewer resources than a freestanding institution, they chose to locate the college at Princeton. McIlvaine petitioned Princeton's board of trustees for permission to set up a college of the same style as Harvard's Annex, where Princeton professors would reteach their classes to female students on a separate campus for additional pay.

President McCosh showed no particular enthusiasm for the project, but did advise McIlvaine and his supporters to go ahead with their plans and supplied wise tactical advice. Considering Princeton's financial straits in 1886, perhaps an additional source of income for underpaid professors seemed a godsend. The surprising speed with which the trustees granted the request may have been similarly motivated. At any rate, McCosh's and Patton's support demonstrate that neither believed an advanced liberal arts education was inherently useful only for men. Both, however—and particularly Patton—regarded Princeton's mission as one of the nation's great historic colleges to be limited in just this way.[29]

The founders of Evelyn agreed. The school was not to be an exact copy of Princeton, differing only in the sex of the students. Rather, they designed into it a unique character intended to preserve and develop feminine graces to help women exercise what Evelyn's leaders believed to be their particular form of social influence. Princeton under Patton emphasized training national leaders; Evelyn sought to train their society wives. Although Evelyn's curriculum grew into parity with Princeton's, the new college added features unknown to the parent institution, such as optional training in voice, piano, drawing, and painting. These offerings grew out of the "ornamental" education common among early nineteenth-century society women—the type of training against which many antebellum educational reformers had rebelled. Evelyn also insisted that its students converse in French—or a recent scholarly addition, German—when in their dormitory, a similar attempt at refinement common at elite women's schools.[30]

Evelyn's gender ideal was decidedly class based; the college served rich girls. When the institution opened in 1887–1888, it charged all students $850 a year for board and tuition, compared to the $723.50 upper end of a Princeton student's total expenses for the same year. By 1890–1891, Evelyn had managed to bring board and tuition down to $500, below Princeton's maximum for that year ($645), but above even its median expense ($433) and far above its expense for students on scholarship ($211). Thus, Princeton under McCosh and Patton certainly also catered to the wealthy, but scholarships there brought in many students from modest backgrounds as well. No such arrangement mitigated the exclusiveness of Evelyn. Its prospectus announced: "It will be carefully recognized that young women, pursuing a collegiate course, ought not to neglect the accomplishments and social customs which are so important to those who are called to a high position in society. Consequently, every attention will be paid to propriety in language and manner, and no pains spared to make the family life a means of the best social culture." An 1891 newspaper article, obviously written by a publicist for the

school, put the case even more baldly: "Wealthy and considerate parents could find no college or high school where the education was free from . . . modern unwomanly training, and hence Evelyn College was designed to meet the wants of such patrons, and the necessarily high cost is cheerfully met by that class of patrons." Evelyn's lack of endowment and constant fight for funds no doubt contributed to this outlook.[31]

This focus on fostering the feminine refinement wealthy patrons desired for their daughters colored the moral aspects of Evelyn's education: the college's leadership articulated them largely in terms of their contribution to this ideal. Evelyn's curriculum mostly mirrored Princeton's, which increasingly divested itself of the responsibility for moral formation. Thus, moral formation at Evelyn also took place largely beyond the classroom, both in extracurricular activities and in religious gatherings.

Rather than emphasize the student athletics and self-government that was thought at Princeton to form men with the self-reliant character needed for wise national leadership, Evelyn instead oriented students' extracurricular lives toward developing the social graces thought to give society women their unique type of moral influence. The women lived together under one roof (they numbered between fourteen and thirty-five students per year) in a sprawling house still standing on Evelyn Place, just off Nassau Street about half a mile east of Princeton's central campus. Two female principals, the daughters of President McIlvaine, oversaw the students. The goal of housing students in this manner was to imitate the refined "family life" from which the students came and to which they would subsequently go. The 1894–1895 catalog for Queenscourt, the preparatory school associated with Evelyn, detailed: "Only such rules are enforced as are necessary to protect the health of the pupils, to secure punctuality, systematic habits of study and exercise, and propriety of manner." Most likely, cultured parents balked at the intricate supervisory systems associated with some well-known early women's colleges—such as Mount Holyoke, Vassar, and Wellesley—and Evelyn sought to distance itself from those associations. In lieu of enforcing manifold rules, Evelyn's principals oversaw the social aspirations of their charges. On Friday evenings, in the presence of the principals, Evelyn's matrons-in-training served as hostesses and formally entertained guests. A Princeton student in that era recalled that Evelyn had "a lively existence much enjoyed by Princeton undergraduates with introductions and social inclinations."[32]

The women's college dedicated relatively little ink to the role of religion in its education, but the one extant baccalaureate sermon by President McIlvaine, from 1895, suggests how the religious instruction it did provide

also helped inculcate the traits of elite womanhood. McIlvaine's sermon placed him in the middle of the growing divide between evangelical and modernist Protestants. He argued with the evangelicals for biblical inerrancy (an appropriately Princetonian perspective), but with the modernists, he did not stress Christ's atonement or the need for students to convert. Rather, he emphasized character development as the ultimate purpose of religion. McIlvaine's formulation of "the chief end of man" stated: "The problem of the universe, that is, the object which God had in view in the constitution of the world, as I understand it, was the formation of a right character in His moral creatures." His sermon proceeded to detail the traits of "a true and noble character," generally in ways that would apply to both sexes, but with some particular applications to women. McIlvaine hoped for his students that by pursuing such a character, "your lives in this world may be prosperous and happy, and that in the world to come you may attain to the final beatitude and the eternal glory." The president's motivation for providing students with religious instruction included not only its temporal, interpersonal benefits but also its eternal one, "the final beatitude" of being rightly related to God. He did not elaborate on the latter, however, preferring instead to focus on the horizontal spirituality of faith's ability to help graduates fulfill their earthly roles.[33]

The earthly role for which the religion he preached best prepared graduates was society wife. McIlvaine told his Evelyn charges that "your superior education is a sacred trust, which binds you by the strongest obligation to live for God, to honor and glorify Him, and to do good to others as He shall give you opportunity." At first look, Evelyn's president thus seemed to align himself with the earlier evangelical founders of Mount Holyoke and Wellesley, who like earlier Princeton presidents had focused on vertical spirituality and left to students' individual consciences in what role they could best advance God's purposes. However, unlike these evangelical leaders McIlvaine did not sketch an overarching vision of a world in need of transformation through evangelism by both men and women. Neither, though, did he join their modernist successors at Mount Holyoke and Wellesley in advocating transformation through female-led social service. The result was that religion at Evelyn reinforced a gendered social role, but not that of compassionate reformer on behalf of poor women and children. Rather, Evelyn's mandatory daily prayers and Sunday afternoon Bible instruction developed a noncrusading, pious woman inclined to use her private influence to do good to those who came within her sphere.[34]

That religion at Evelyn served to further this gender ideal is clarified by the aforementioned blunt 1891 publicity article. The writer reported that at

Evelyn, "careful attention is given to . . . the inculcation of pure Christian morality, both by example and precept," but the purpose of such inculcation was to "foster and inspire in its students, gentleness, modesty, and old fashioned refinement, in soul and manners." The article proudly announced the results: "The increased number of refined and modest students from refined and cultured families, as they appear in groups on our streets, and in our several churches impress the public." What students got out of church did not warrant mention; how they behaved themselves while they were there did. Thus, while Evelyn's academics made its graduates "companionable" with educated men, its "pure Christian morality" made students gracious, proper ladies—not the zealous missionary teachers historically turned out by many early women's colleges or the social activists many later ones sought to produce.[35]

Overall, like Princeton under Patton, Evelyn held in tension nongendered and gendered aspects of moral formation, but emphasized the latter. Although Evelyn copied Princeton's curriculum, it formed its own sex-specific culture beyond the classroom. The contours of that culture were shaped by its precarious financial situation and need to attract wealthy students, but not counterbalanced by Princeton's more than a century of service to the church, often in the form of training ministerial candidates who were poorer than other students. At Evelyn, religion thus played a less central role in the institution's identity than at Princeton. As at the men's college, though, religion at Evelyn manifested aspects of both evangelicalism and modernism, as befit an era of theological transition. College leaders spoke of how religion formed the character in students that would both please God and lead to good behavior toward others, sometimes in ways common to all decent people, and other times in ways specific to elite women. But the institution's overall focus on social culture reinforced the latter message far more than the former. The school thus shepherded students into doing good in the sphere and in the way deemed socially appropriate for the wives of elite men. At the end of the day, fewer funds available than at freestanding women's colleges made the formation of society wives the chief end of an Evelyn education.

When Woodrow Wilson took over the presidency of Princeton in 1902, he would shift the tension between gender-neutral and sex-specific aspects of moral formation decidedly toward the sex-specific side of the spectrum. He would do so unhindered by the women's college, which had closed in 1897 after the death of its founder. Reverend McIlvaine's passing coincided with a turning point in Princeton's history: the year before, at its 1896 sesquicentennial, Patton had declared the men's institution to be a university rather than merely a college. More a goal than a current reality, genuine

university status required even more money to support quality graduate education. The leaders of Princeton grew fearful that Evelyn's concurrent fund drive would siphon away needed donations. While Patton's presence on Evelyn's board indicated that Princeton's leadership did not oppose women's higher education per se, they nevertheless considered training national leaders far more essential than training their wives. With McIlvaine—a Princeton graduate and former professor—no longer in the picture, Princeton leaders began to openly oppose the project. Without their support, Evelyn had no hope of raising the money it needed, and it folded shortly thereafter. Evelyn's vision of using college education to form influential society women had faded. Under Wilson, however, Princeton's vision of forming the nation's future leaders would brighten.[36]

Presbyterian Modernists as Presidents

Princeton's early twentieth-century presidents would swing the institution's identity and its type of moral formation even further in a sex-specific direction. Woodrow Wilson took over as president of Princeton in 1902 and served in that capacity until 1910. Unlike all previous Princeton presidents, Wilson was a layman, albeit a devout Presbyterian layman and the son of a Presbyterian preacher. Wilson did not just differ from McCosh and Patton in vocation, however; he also differed in the content of his faith. A Protestant modernist rather than an evangelical, Wilson believed the essence of Princeton to be its service to the state. Although Patton had shifted the balance from church to state, he had retained a significant component of the former. Wilson collapsed spirituality entirely into its horizontal aspects and spoke of the value of undergraduate religion solely in terms of how "the energy of a positive faith" could provide students with the ethical road map and sense of duty to serve the national good. In turn, he believed the national good to be best served by forming graduates equipped to fill top posts of public influence.[37]

This constellation of beliefs led Wilson to reduce mandatory chapel attendance and eliminate the course requirements in Bible and Christian apologetics. These features of the collegiate experience had been essential for cultivating an evangelical-style relationship with God, but were not as essential for cultivating an inclination toward service. Meanwhile, they could be potentially divisive—or, worse yet, overly Presbyterian—in a manner that might endanger the institution's national standing, and hence its national influence. Accordingly, Wilson considered students' moral formation to come

mostly from Princeton's liberal arts curriculum and from voluntary activities beyond the classroom. He believed that the liberal arts provided a broad knowledge of human affairs past and present; this grounding imparted wisdom. Specifically, it imparted the type of wisdom necessary for steering the nation through the choppy social and political seas of the day. Wilson believed such insight particularly important given increasingly complex national and international affairs. In similar fashion, wisdom came not only from books and lectures that allowed interaction with previous generations of humanity but also from interaction outside the classroom with other social classes.[38]

Primarily, Wilson thought in terms of students' formative interactions with one another and with professors, but student religious life also supported his goals. The Philadelphian Society reflected his shift in emphasis from advocating conversion to facilitating service; the organization invited an increasing number of liberal speakers and participated more frequently in work for poor boys in New York and Philadelphia. This shift in Princeton's religious ethos under Wilson is perfectly captured by Wilson's 1909 baccalaureate address to the senior class, a meditation on a saying by Jesus: "When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants: we have done that which was our duty to do." The address drove home the duty of graduates to serve others and not only themselves, but did not mention God or Christ until the final paragraph, and then only in terms of attributing the wise saying to "the Master" and asking a basic blessing of God on the graduates. Thus, under Wilson, Princeton's doctrinal heritage came to represent a duty to serve the nation more than a call to repentance toward God.[39]

This moral end was only for men, and select ones at that. Wilson articulated an elitist view of the role of a private undergraduate liberal arts education. He argued that the common schools ought to provide young men the basic training needed to be responsible voters. From there, most would then undergo technical training in preparation for their careers. University education should not be all things to all people, as many state universities attempted. Rather, university education should train the nation's leaders in government, business, science, and academia. As author of the university's famous motto, "Princeton in the nation's service," Wilson asserted that any university that did not do so would "lack its national title" and merely serve more proximate goals. By contrast, such leaders as Princeton produced charted the course, good or ill, along which the rest of the nation would sail. They constituted those who "stand at the front" and "offer themselves as guides." Wilson carefully argued that such a conception was not undemocratic; it was instead

meritocratic. Thus, under Wilson, Princeton continued to make provision for some boys of modest means—although, tellingly, Wilson stopped earmarking any such scholarships for ministerial candidates. In classic Progressive form, Wilson added that such division of labor produced the "efficiency" necessary to the nation's success.[40]

Wilson's envisioned meritocracy had no room for women. He believed division of labor included division between the sexes. In true nineteenth-century—and southern—style, Wilson thought (white) men and women had different gifts; men's fitted them for the public realm and women's fitted them for the private sphere. Wilson truly, deeply loved and respected his wife, Ellen, as their many extant letters show, and he believed that children became Christians primarily through their mother's care and instruction. In consequence, he did not exhibit the same paranoia about women's influence in the church as many muscular Christians of his day. Likewise, Wilson sometimes spoke about religion or morality in the language of "manliness," in the sense of a specifically male ideal, but not nearly so frequently as Patton or other advocates of muscular Christianity. What he lacked in language, however, he made up in focus.

Wilson consciously oriented Princeton's education toward a specifically male ideal of Christian public action. He appreciated learned women, but believed they should do their learning in separate institutions geared toward their separate social roles so as not to "vulgarize" relations between the sexes. Wilson's own desire as a political scientist was to train men for public leadership. He had taken his first academic position teaching the women at Bryn Mawr College purely to make money to support his young family. The powerful female dean of Bryn Mawr, M. Carey Thomas, had refused even to consider a woman for Wilson's position of professor of history and political science, noting, "How can a political zero teach politics, an ineligible statesman, statecraft?" Wilson took her convictions one step further, complaining privately that teaching women political theory was "about as appropriate and profitable as would be lecturing to stone-masons on the evolution of fashion in dress." He escaped first to coeducational Wesleyan, and then to all-male Princeton, as soon as he could.[41]

As to the Princeton men Wilson trained, he believed their service to the national good constituted an essentially spiritual act because it took them away from the material concerns of their specific profession or of providing income for their family. He expected those privileged to receive a liberal arts education to invest themselves, without remuneration, in wider concerns beyond their profession for the betterment of society. Wilson's conception of such service as something rendered not only through graduates' professions

but also above and beyond them logically undercut his male paradigm. Plenty of women in the early twentieth century worked primarily in the home but then volunteered their time beyond it to provide various social services for their communities. A liberal arts education would theoretically have benefited them as well, inasmuch as Wilson believed it to furnish the knowledge of human nature and history needed for informed decisions on current social problems. Wilson, however, considered liberal arts graduates to be the nation's "leaders" who would have a vocal public presence, a role he thought not fit for women.[42]

Wilson's ambitious goals for Princeton to lead the nation in and through its undergraduate program provoked internal dissension. While cold to the educational desires of women (and African Americans), Wilson in other respects sought to implement his democratic ideals in radical and sometimes unpopular ways. He wanted Princeton to be a "city on a hill," a democratic model for other institutions of higher education, and, ultimately, for the nation at large. Wilson found Princeton's social life far too elitist to accomplish this goal. Although the highest estimated expenses to attend Princeton for a year had actually dropped slightly since the late 1880s, membership in one of Princeton's elite eating clubs was far more expensive than frequenting a university dining hall, so the upper range of expenses had in reality climbed considerably. Wilson therefore proposed that the exclusive eating clubs be merged with the dormitories into a British quadrangle system in which students from various social classes would live and eat together. The alumni refused to underwrite this plan. Wilson also wanted to locate Princeton's new graduate college in the center of campus, a scholarly example to the undergraduates. The location would have a second benefit: it would check the plans of graduate dean Andrew West to make the graduate college into an opulent enclave conveniently located right off a golf course—"a great big upper class Club," in the words of one concerned trustee. After losing the ensuing power struggle with various trustees, faculty members, and alumni, Wilson resigned to seek election as governor of New Jersey.[43]

Wilson's successor, John Grier Hibben, professor of logic at Princeton, set out in 1912 to restore peace with the university's elite constituency by dialing back Wilson's moral intensity while maintaining continuity with his educational ideals about how best to train the nation's male leadership. Hibben did so by expanding Princeton's service ideal beyond that rendered by the best and the brightest, and by no longer portraying the university itself as a city on a hill. Thus, Princeton need not focus so much on admitting the talented poor or on curbing the social aspirations of recipients of a "gentleman's C." Hibben agreed with Wilson that a liberal arts education obligated

its recipients to use their privilege to better human conditions, but the new president quickly clarified that "naturally, we cannot expect our students generally to attain to the highest offices of public trust in our country." Princeton "also [had] a responsibility of ministering to the needs of the average man," who would go on to play his part in "the great social organism of humanity." In this way, he maintained Wilson's emphasis on national service, but broadened that ideal to include the smaller-scale service rendered by men of more nearly average abilities—such as the sons of many of his wealthy donors. Effectively, Hibben sought to baptize all careers in the public sphere into Wilson's ideal that Princeton define itself by its ability to train the elite men who would shape the nation. As under Patton, "elite" could once again mean wealth and social position more than ability. Ironically, however, Hibben thereby reopened space in the institutional mission that in theory could have allowed training students outside the white male elite for whom national leadership positions were reserved.[44]

How Hibben grounded moral formation in the religious aspects of education had this same dual effect. A modernist like Wilson, Hibben continued to emphasize the social aspects of spirituality and to identify a sense of duty to the country as the essence of early twentieth-century Princeton's religious identity. Wilson, however, had almost totally conflated Princeton's religious commitment with national service. Hibben—an ordained Presbyterian minister rather than a political scientist—brought back, albeit in muted tones, a parallel role for religion at Princeton in fostering students' direct relationship with God. This move complemented how he de-emphasized Wilson's ideal of training top national leaders. When Hibben assumed Princeton's presidency, he shared with alumni that "it is a part of the Princeton tradition to believe in a power in the world that is greater than ourselves, greater than the institution which we love, greater than the nation to which we ever delight to pledge our loyal devotion, greater than the mighty army of humanity which has moved across the centuries in its onward march of progress—a power, moreover, which we feel constrained to recognize as a person and to worship as our God." It is difficult to envision Wilson calling attention to a potential distinction between the divine will and national progress. Though pacifying elite male donors likely played a prominent part among Hibben's motivations, reintroducing this distinction—like reorienting Princeton's service to the nation—also created space in Princeton's identity where it could potentially have trained women along with others ineligible for top national leadership positions.[45]

But the adjustment to the course already set was slight; Princeton did not expand its constituency. After all, coeducation would likely have offended

the elite businessmen Hibben sought to pacify. Besides, the trend was by then away from rather than toward coeducation, as other elite eastern colleges and universities sought to position themselves nationally by the same technique of marketing single-sex status. Some, like Harvard, would solidify the coordinate college system as a means of holding off the demand for admitting women. At others, the earlier move toward coeducation not only slowed, but reversed. Middlebury, Colby, and Tufts changed from coeducation to coordinate education in the first decade of the twentieth century. Wesleyan, the one eastern men's college to have shifted to coeducation despite healthy enrollment, earned another distinction when in 1909 it became the first coeducational college to change its previous policy and stop admitting women altogether, without even establishing a coordinate college. Wesleyan's case was particularly striking because coeducation there had sprung from an evangelical pragmatism connected with its Methodist identity. Toward the turn of the century, however, a financial crisis led the institution to seek prestige in the same manner as Princeton: by downplaying its denominational heritage and playing up its ability to train elite urban businessmen and lawyers. To make the image work, the women had to go. Princeton's neglect of women had placed it in the vanguard of peer institutions.[46]

By the time Hibben assumed the presidency in 1912, Princeton had successfully used its status as an all-male institution to establish itself among the top universities with a reasonable claim to a national constituency and a national mission. Some leading universities, particularly state schools, were coeducational, but Princeton, like other eastern institutions, had staked its claim to wide prestige on training the elite men it believed would do the most to influence the direction of the nation. Patton and Wilson had built so well that Hibben could tweak the façade of the university's mission without any real fear of undermining the edifice. Besides, after Evelyn folded in 1897, Princeton educators could tell themselves that demand for women's higher education was particularly low in its vicinity. Indeed, fortunately for Hibben's peace of mind, it would be many decades before any agitation for coeducation—or even coordinate education such as Evelyn—would again trouble Princeton's administrative waters.

Conclusion

In the decades around 1900, colleges and universities that sought, like Princeton, to distinguish themselves from among their peers did so by laying claim to serving truly national interests. Princeton—in many ways a stereotypical

nineteenth-century denominational college—successfully achieved national prominence as a newly minted university by progressively downplaying aspects of its identity increasingly seen as parochial, namely, its affiliation with a specific denomination and the vertical spirituality associated with its evangelical heritage. Instead, the institution reframed the moral aspects of its education in terms designed to appeal to the aspiring elite. Unlike new women's colleges and coeducational universities, Princeton would educate only men, eligible to be society's leaders. Thus, rather than pursuing spiritual formation that applied equally to all evangelicals, its ethical training would instead focus on forming in students the moral traits specifically associated with elite men and their unique social roles in the community, be they national political leaders or influential local businessmen.

Women's education in the town attempted a complementary approach. Yet without equivalent monetary resources, Evelyn College focused its moral formation even more than its brother institution on fostering elite gender norms so as to attract by any means the donors needed for the college's survival. In the end, though, Princeton's ambitions to be a top trainer of national leaders meant not only containing the local demand for women's higher education within a separate coordinate college, but ultimately letting Evelyn die so that Princeton might thrive. The experiences of the two institutions point to a new emphasis on inculcating gendered traits among premier institutions of higher education at the turn of the century. The entrance of women into higher education, the need to attract funding within a new type of higher educational market, and shifts in the type of religiosity dominant among American intellectuals all combined to create this change. Though some of the effects would differ, a similar pattern of gendering would play out in the developing moral visions of other leading men's and women's colleges as well.

Chapter 6

A House Divided?
Harvard and Radcliffe

Annie Ware Winsor was irked. A student at the Harvard women's "Annex," she complained of their brother institution: "It blandly offers us instead of a happy social life under [its] roof, the inestimable—very inestimable—advantage of being near Harvard College, and then, in dismissing us, gives us, instead of a degree, the cold assurance that we deserve one." When Winsor wrote this composition exercise during the school year 1887–1888, Harvard's coordinate women's institution (named Radcliffe College in 1894) could not offer degrees but only degree equivalencies. It also could not offer much of a social life—only the admittedly high-quality education that came from classes taught by Harvard professors. Winsor's proposed solution was for Harvard University to welcome the women's institution under its umbrella as a separate college parallel to the men's college. The women's college could then share in the vast resources of the university while maintaining separate classes and the freedom to develop a separate but richly supported social life appropriate to women's distinct nature. As it stood, money was tight at the Annex like it was at Evelyn, with similar predictable results: scholarships allowed poorer boys to take advantage of a Harvard education, but without a comparable fund only relatively wealthy girls had access to those same professors. And regardless of wealth, women had access only to the curricular—not the extracurricular—opportunities offered by Harvard. One effect unique to the Cambridge situation was that, unlike

Harvard, the Annex at first provided no religious and very little moral formation.[1]

Winsor's hopes for substantially stronger ties between the two institutions would not be realized during this era, even though the Annex would develop into a true women's college when it incorporated as Radcliffe. Thus, despite the fact that both institutions were led by Unitarians with similar convictions on spiritual and ethical matters, student moral formation at Harvard and its coordinate college would develop along separate lines. Even earlier than Princeton, Harvard would build its identity, curriculum, and extracurriculum around forming the type of men who could lead the nation. Radcliffe's leaders in turn understood their institution to prepare women for their unique social roles—but contrary to developments at Evelyn, the fewer resources available to the Cambridge women's institution ironically resulted in a broader understanding of those roles.

Eliot Reforms Harvard

Harvard began in the 1870s where Princeton would only arrive in the early 1900s: with leadership that sought national stature for the institution by downplaying elements of moral formation perceived as sectarian, and instead emphasizing aspects of moral formation specifically designed to mold elite men. Charles William Eliot became president of Harvard in 1869, one year after James McCosh became president of Princeton. Much as McCosh's Presbyterianism shaped a vision for Princeton that continued to prioritize vertical spirituality, Eliot's Unitarian commitments to elevating horizontal spirituality shaped his vision for Harvard.[2]

While Princeton was largely emblematic of the broadly evangelical denominational men's colleges that dominated the landscape of American higher education prior to the mid-1800s, Harvard had gone its own way since the turn of that century. Founded in 1636 by the Puritans of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, Harvard—like so many American colleges that would follow—had sought to educate leaders of both church and state, in that era so closely intertwined. It would continue to do so, but the nature of the faith inculcated in students would change from Godward to community-oriented spirituality far earlier than at most American colleges. By the time of the First Great Awakening that led to Princeton's founding in the 1740s, Harvard had become a religiously moderate college: cautiously open to the conversion-oriented revivals, but not overly enthusiastic. By the dawn of the

nineteenth century, Unitarians (never ones to focus on conversion) dominated the institution, and would continue to do so through the first few decades of the twentieth century. Perhaps even more important for Harvard's identity, Unitarians had come to dominate Harvard because they had come to dominate the Boston elite. This mercantile elite felt a proprietary responsibility for the welfare of their city, and their religion reinforced that impulse. Unitarian righteousness consisted of upright interpersonal morality, wisdom obtained from genteel learning, and benevolence directed toward the less fortunate.[3]

Thus, the moral formation received at Harvard by the sons of the Boston elite emphasized the social aspects of spirituality over the Godward ones well in advance of the late nineteenth century. This focus meant that the expectations for exactly how a Harvard graduate would serve society were among the clearest in American higher education: he would almost certainly join the tight-knit local elite and follow the dictates of noblesse oblige to improve the Boston community, often through contributing to various local public-spirited institutions. These ranged from the Massachusetts General Hospital to the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture to the Massachusetts Historical Society. At Harvard, therefore, what changed after the Civil War was not so much the fundamental nature of student moral formation as the intended reach of graduates' moral influence. In the new climate of American higher education, Harvard sought to be the intellectual and cultural center not only of Boston, but of the nation.

Harvard's predisposition to interpersonal spirituality made it quick to play up the sex-specific aspect of its moral formation in this new environment. Previously few among the Boston elite had challenged the reservation of the highest levels of education to men. It was not emphasized, it simply was. After all, only men filled the community's intellectual and cultural leadership posts. Women were, however, encouraged to attain a fairly high level of education, in part to convey the values of the class to the next generation and in part to cement the interests of the class through common conversation and concerns.[4] As cries for women's higher education grew in strength across the nation, Harvard's leaders had to address the question directly and position themselves accordingly. As became apparent in the national debates over collegiate coeducation in the 1870s, some friends of the institution believed that Harvard would best aid the quest for social progress by using its resources to prepare both men and women for their roles. Nevertheless, those with the most power would stake their institution's claims to national influence on its historic moral vision of forming those equipped to shape a good

society from the most elite positions of power, still reserved for men. The reformer who would rework Harvard's tradition in this direction came to power himself only shortly after the Civil War.

In 1869, Charles William Eliot, newly elected president of Harvard, laid out in his inaugural address his intentions for reforming the nature of collegiate education offered at the school. He would direct Harvard for forty years, 1869–1909, the longest-ever presidential term there. As a result of this longevity and of his prolific and opinionated writing and speaking, Eliot came to be regarded by many as what we would now call a public intellectual, and his views carried weight nationally. Unlike the elder Scotsman McCosh, Eliot argued that a radical departure from the traditional required curriculum best met the needs of the modern age. All subjects, he believed, imparted mental discipline—the habits of mind that would enable the college graduate to adapt to the requirements of whatever job he would pursue afterward. The original curriculum heavy in ancient languages and mathematics had admirably prepared the ministers, doctors, and lawyers it originally sought to train, but the expansion of business and other lines of employment—as well as the development of the original professions along new lines—was rapidly rendering those content requirements obsolete. Complete freedom in students' choice of classes would thus allow them to develop mature habits of mind while learning material they personally found interesting. In the process, they would discover the vocation in the modern world for which they had both inclination and talent.[5]

Freedom to select courses that students believed would best prepare them for their individual vocations could have paved the way for coeducation—as many of Eliot's fellow educators argued—but Eliot instead oriented the new curriculum toward a sex-specific end. He hoped the free elective system would facilitate the type of moral character that he believed most important for those who would exercise prominent leadership posts. Specifically, giving students the responsibility to choose their own course of study helped form the self-reliance Eliot thought essential in the men who carried the burden of making final decisions about the direction of the nation. Like Patton and Wilson would do at Princeton, Eliot sought to make Harvard a truly national university. He wanted to attract students from beyond New England, but more important, he wanted to train Harvard students to have a national outlook. To lead a more and more ethnically and economically diverse nation—including workingmen with greater physical strength than most Harvard students—these students would have to develop a different kind of strength. Eliot wanted to foster creative, strong-willed, hardworking, and hard-thinking men, the "experts" and trendsetters who would shape culture

and politics. He believed this character to be fostered mostly through careful choice of and application to Harvard's academic course of study, but also through healthy social and, occasionally, athletic competition.[6]

To form the type of men fit to be public leaders, Eliot looked to a certain type of religion as well as to a certain type of academics and social life. He believed it essential that Harvard not be "sectarian," a concept he equated with narrow and conformist. To develop a national outlook in a religiously plural nation, Harvard students needed to be exposed to people of different beliefs, not indoctrinated in one denomination. Yet Eliot believed that religion formed the basis of morality, and he wanted future national leaders to be moral. He therefore sought to create a culture at Harvard that took religion seriously, but religion of a certain broad sort. Daily chapel featured a rotating list of preachers from the various denominations so as to encourage respect for religion in general while avoiding narrowness of creed. Harvard dropped the requirement that students attend daily chapel in 1886, earlier than many other schools, but also continued optional daily chapel longer than many others. Additionally, administrators and professors encouraged students to attend a church of their family's denomination.[7]

The ultimate incarnation of Eliot's ideal of campus religious pluralism was the Phillips Brooks House (PBH). Conceived in 1890, the building was dedicated in 1900. PBH provided a common meeting area for the several voluntary religious organizations on campus: the St. Paul's Society (Episcopalian), the YMCA (broadly evangelical), the Catholic Club, and the Religious Union (a philosophical club dedicated to exploring religious questions). Its namesake, the then recently deceased Episcopalian priest Phillips Brooks (1835–93), had been the beloved rector of the socially prominent Trinity Church in Boston, as well as a Harvard overseer and a member of Harvard's board of preachers, the eminent local divines who delivered in rotation the morning homily at Harvard's voluntary chapel services. Furthermore, Brooks had embodied Eliot's central religious value: he was intensely committed to moral service to the community without being intensely committed to a particular denominational position. Brooks had great appeal to students and faculty of widely varying Christian backgrounds, and Eliot hoped that PBH would similarly unify the doctrinally diverse student groups in a common mission. This unity would come about through their rubbing shoulders in the same building and through PBH's function as a clearinghouse for social service opportunities for Harvard students. PBH thus physically embodied Eliot's view of how campus religion ought to operate: diverse voluntary religious groups should find unity in their common broadly religious identity, and the ultimate goal of their religion should be to serve the community.[8]

The explicitly moral components of Harvard's curriculum also reflected Eliot's belief in the centrality of ethical behavior to religion. Eliot ensured that Harvard offered several ethics classes from a variety of perspectives. He believed, however, that even under the elective system, Harvard could not offer undergraduate classes in the specific doctrines of the various denominations—because it could not hope to include all possible viewpoints in such a manner as to be fair. Ethics classes, by contrast, furthered religious goals by providing students with a clear sense of duty to spend their lives in service to others. In Eliot's view, this horizontal spirituality constituted the ultimate aim of all religions. It was thus not sectarian in the same way as vertical spirituality, which was dependent on assertions about the nature of God or how to relate rightly to the Deity. Eliot's belief was, of course, itself sectarian—Unitarian, to be precise—but it was a belief increasingly held outside the Unitarian fold by theologically modernist members of various Protestant denominations.

Eliot could therefore claim that Harvard had a system of higher education that was religious but not sectarian, the system that was just right for training national leaders. In a second way, too, Eliot's emphasis on interpersonal spirituality helped orient religious and ethical instruction at Harvard toward forming a specifically elite male character. While all people stood on relatively equal footing toward the Deity, focusing on ethical interactions meant focusing on the training required to play specific roles in the body politic well.[9]

Many educators came to share Eliot's sex-based conception of the moral purpose of elite colleges, but he swam against the tide in his sustained belief that the moral formation of college men came mostly from curricular instruction and social service. Though Harvard bore criticism on this point, Eliot did not laud the goal of using extracurricular clubs and athletics to develop the type of masculinity advocated by Harvard's most famous contemporary graduate, Theodore Roosevelt, class of 1880. Historian Kristin Hoganson phrased the situation: "To many observers from beyond the confines of Cambridge, Harvard men appeared aristocratic in an age of mass politics, contemplative in an age of action, leisured in an age of enterprise, and overly refined in an age that valued robust masculinity in men." The Spanish-American War constituted a transition moment for Harvard's image in this regard. Opposition to the war by Harvard art history professor (and Eliot's cousin) Charles Eliot Norton exacerbated the charges against the institution, but the participation of many Harvard men in the war subsequently improved its reputation beyond Boston. It then became more feasible for its graduates to fulfill Eliot's hopes that they serve as national leaders. Yet Eliot's continuing resistance to defining Harvard's success primarily in terms of students' physi-

cal prowess on the playing field or the battlefield made room for a philosophy of how women's higher education might also help advance Western civilization. Eliot's concomitant commitment to training Harvard students for public leadership, however, made it a rather narrow, restricted room.[10]

Over the course of his presidency, Eliot's message about the nature and purpose of a leading national university like Harvard did not change, but his opinions on the value of women's higher education would. In his inaugural address in 1869 and throughout national debates over coeducation in the early 1870s, Eliot had maintained that women's higher education was an "experiment." Not enough was yet known about how women responded—mentally and physically—to higher education, so colleges should proceed with caution. Remarkably, Eliot was still arguing the same line at the turn of the century, twenty years after the establishment of Radcliffe, Harvard's coordinate women's college. Nevertheless, Eliot did bind himself to reviewing his positions in light of new evidence, and by the early twentieth century, the evidence in favor of women's higher education had become too overwhelming to ignore. Women clearly performed as well or better than men at their studies, with no cost to health. But the information that seems most to have set Eliot's mind at ease was accumulated data that female college graduates were not less likely to marry than other women. (Ironically, the data were wrong.) Eliot believed that not only moral leadership but also proper child raising was essential to the social and moral progress of the nation. If higher education for women could aid rather than interfere with women taking up their role as caretakers of the next generation, then it was to be embraced.[11]

Decades of wrangling over the place of religion in higher education had finally led Eliot to a position similar to that held by Andrew Dickson White, his opponent in the coeducational debates of the 1870s: women's higher education was a positive good because it freed them from traditional, backward religious views and enabled them to pass on to their children more "civilized" beliefs about God. As a Unitarian, Eliot thought the belief that Jesus was divine—or that divine justice required his death to atone for human sin—undercut faith in human goodness and the possibility of moral perfectibility. Eliot believed the abandonment of these beliefs by many leading Protestant divines—the development of Protestant theology in a Unitarian direction—constituted moral progress over the course of the nineteenth century. Thus, women too needed higher education to raise the next generation to continue this moral progress. Consequently, Eliot warmed toward Radcliffe, in existence in some form since 1879, as an institution that would do for women what Harvard did for men: form graduates morally and intellectually suited for a highly sex-specific form of service to the community.[12]

Because Eliot believed much of student moral formation took place through the curriculum, he wanted the women's institution to offer a different course of studies from Harvard—though he would not get his wish. Eliot stated his own take on the "chief end of woman" and her education in 1907: "It is not the chief happiness or the chief end of woman, as a whole, to enter these new occupations, to pursue them through life. . . . The prime motive of the higher education of women should [therefore] be recognized as the development in women of the capacities and powers which will fit them to make family life more intelligent, more enjoyable, happier, more productive—more productive in every sense, physically, mentally, and spiritually." Indeed, as against other, more long-standing advocates for women's higher education, Eliot even resisted the argument that it could serve society through enabling a woman to thoughtfully extend her domestic expertise beyond the home through the growing field of social service. In place of "municipal housekeeping" by educated women, Eliot argued for simply housekeeping—or, more precisely, child rearing. Yet Eliot's thinking on how men's and women's college curricula could best prepare them for their future roles was muddled. On the one hand, he professed it a shame that men's curricula could not also be more tightly tailored to their future occupations, but the multiplicity of future career paths for men made such an approach infeasible. On the other hand, he advocated the usefulness of a liberal arts education as training for any future activity. As noted earlier, Eliot's elective system ought to have solved this problem for both sexes, but his rigid beliefs about the type of moral service appropriate for each sex prevented him from seeing the situation this way.[13]

Eliot's gender ideals reflected the culture of upper-crust Boston, which blended mercantile-earned wealth with an inherited Puritan work-and-service ethic. He criticized the lifestyle of the opulent rich who hired other people to care for their children, and of the very poor, whose women worked outside the home to augment the meager family income. (Although, understandably given his donor base, he used softer language for the rich.) Eliot's articulated ideal was effectively a prosperous, hardworking couple, both educated, who brought wisdom and intelligence to their respective spheres of work. He was careful, however, to assert that this ideal was attainable by both rich and poor.[14]

Therefore, as Eliot came to believe that women's higher education contributed to social progress, he grew concerned to make such education affordable. In 1903, Eliot delivered a speech at Radcliffe's commencement calling for donations to Radcliffe for a new dormitory and for scholarships.

His reasoning: an education that could accommodate only rich, local girls was insufficiently broad, national, and democratic. In other words, it was insufficiently like Harvard. Eliot hoped Radcliffe would form a different type of graduate than Harvard, but still one who shared the broad outlook of her future husband and could pass that outlook on to her children. The Harvard after which Eliot believed Radcliffe's admissions should be patterned was hardly a bastion of the common man, but Eliot argued that it nevertheless incorporated him. In 1887, estimated student expenses for the year had ranged from the "least" expense of $484 to the "economical" $592 to the "moderate" $812 and, finally, to the "liberal" $1,360. Some students spent even more. Owing to its urban location, it was more expensive even than Princeton, whose expenses ranged from $326.25 to $723.50 that year. Still, by 1909, Harvard students represented a wider socioeconomic range than Princeton's or Yale's, although that was not saying much: 47 percent of Harvard's student body had attended an elite preparatory boarding school, compared to 78 percent of Princeton's and 65 percent of Yale's. Like Wilson believed for Princeton, Eliot believed Harvard to be a truly democratic institution because it provided scholarships to help talented boys rise up and achieve the American dream. In fact, Harvard incorporated not only poorer boys but also boys of other races and the children of immigrants. A much smaller percentage of Radcliffe students had scholarships available to them, so once Eliot softened his earlier callousness about broad access to women's higher education, he publicly advocated for more scholarships at Radcliffe. Although Radcliffe kept tuition constant at $200 from its founding in 1879 through World War I, this amount was $50 more than tuition at Harvard (despite fewer classes available to Radcliffe students).[15]

Eliot's newfound generosity had limits: the one way that he did not seek to make women's higher education affordable was by advocating coeducation. His early opposition to coeducation had shown a lack of sympathy for the financial challenges of single-sex education—but then again, at that time, Eliot was not yet convinced of the value of women's higher education. Even once he was, though, Eliot continued to reserve Harvard as a training ground for public leaders. Harvard's donors reinforced this conviction. Many made clear that they had given money to Harvard to help make it the preeminent university in the United States, the organization that would train the nation's top leaders. They had not intended the money to train persons who would not, by virtue of their sex, be able to go forth to prominent posts of service. Eliot's convictions in this area were sufficiently strong, however, that he really needed no additional push.[16]

Radcliffe College Founded

Radcliffe began at a time when Eliot still looked dubiously on women's higher education, namely, in the 1870s. Thus, when the school opened its doors in 1879, it was not named Radcliffe College, but rather "Private Collegiate Instruction for Women by Professors and Other Instructors of Harvard College." The "private" intended to make clear that the fledgling institution bore no official connection with Harvard. Nevertheless, the school soon earned the moniker "Harvard Annex," and its setup of select Harvard professors reteaching their courses separately to women was the model for future coordinate women's colleges such as Evelyn. As Winsor had fumed, before the Annex incorporated as Radcliffe College in 1894, a woman who completed a program of courses equivalent to a Harvard AB received not a degree but a certificate attesting to equivalency. Once incorporated, Radcliffe did begin granting AB degrees, countersigned by the president of Harvard to guarantee the equivalency of the two schools' degrees. But even this arrangement was a compromise: the founders of the Annex had originally wanted Harvard to grant its own degree to graduates of the women's institution, but Eliot and the Harvard overseers continued to refuse.[17]

The idea for the Annex arose from the Woman's Education Association of Boston (WEA), formed in 1871 and consisting of "ladies and gentlemen interested in the better education of women." As its first annual report put it, the WEA grew out of "the great and crying want, which as each woman felt it in her own life she knew existed for all women, of more and better, wider and higher education in every direction, physical and spiritual, intellectual and artistic." By the end of the decade, members of the WEA had secured the permission of Eliot and the participation of a sufficient number of Harvard professors to supply women who could afford it an education equivalent to that offered at Harvard, which Bostonians considered the high watermark of all things educational.[18]

Uniquely among other private colleges of the time, the Annex lacked any distinct religious or moral components to its education. Unlike the elite women's colleges that preceded it—such as Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith—no one donor's vision shaped the Annex and, in fact, no one philosophy of the purpose of women's higher education. Rather, the Annex existed simply to meet local women's demand for the highest possible education. Also unlike other women's colleges, the Annex course catalog offered no religious or moral rationale for providing this education; neither did it highlight opportunities for religious instruction or the offerings of local churches. Even more strikingly, the catalog did not mention—and the institution did not

offer—any social supervision of students, a near obsession for other women's colleges. For financial reasons, the start-up school had no dormitories, so local students lived at home and those from out of town paid for room and board with local families.[19]

It was not that the WEA had no moral or spiritual concerns; the association explicitly listed those areas among the facets of education it desired to promote. Rather, it seems that WEA members considered Harvard's liberal arts curriculum to contribute to all facets of whole-person education, with any further required moral formation taking place privately under the care of the families with whom students lived. The aspects of moral formation that came under formal oversight by the Annex administration were therefore those gender-neutral traits of human sympathy believed to be fostered by the curriculum shared by Harvard students. The domestic and social aspects of students' moral development—the sex-specific ones—remained privatized. Thus, in keeping with the pattern established by Mount Holyoke, sex-specific moral formation took place outside the curriculum, but unlike at Mount Holyoke, in this case, it also took place outside the Annex's purview.[20]

Yet Annex (and, later, Radcliffe) leaders believed that the remaining curricular aspects of moral formation, though not specific to women, would nevertheless enhance women's feminine virtues. Elizabeth Cabot Carey Agassiz, Boston Brahmin and widow of the famous Harvard naturalist Louis Agassiz, led the young school from its birth through 1903. As the institution's first president, she embodied this conviction that women's college education built on feminine traits nurtured in the family, traits that education could further develop but never fundamentally alter.[21]

Agassiz's views on education grew from the Unitarian views she shared with many of the Boston elite. In an extreme version of these views, Agassiz's spirituality took place almost entirely on the natural plane. Rather than suggest that students draw on the scriptures or the resources of a personal faith in God for refreshment amid the difficulties of life, she instead urged them to find inspiration and comfort in the rich resources of the humanities amid daily drudgery. Also, she rarely if ever referred to God in her speeches and writings, but rather reverenced "Nature"—a fitting perspective for Louis Agassiz's wife.

Specifically, Agassiz considered nature a reliable guide and teacher on questions of women's proper activities. Education, she believed, did not make women more manly, as some feared; nature was not so easily overruled. Rather, education made the bearer more himself or herself by developing the student's innate talents. As to fears regarding how far into the professions

educated women should push and what would be the repercussions for the family, Agassiz again appealed to nature as arbiter. We should never fear that women en masse would pursue activities counter to the natural impulses built into them. Because Agassiz regarded education as a process of enhancing students' natural endowments and impulses, she did not project a vision for directing that education toward specific ends. She made a fitting president for a school that originally consisted only of classes—no dormitories and no extracurricular life, whether officially sanctioned or not.[22]

Agassiz did, however, embrace the later addition of a greater domestic and social component to Radcliffe College life, in part as an opportunity for the school to take a greater role in the sex-specific component of students' moral formation. In 1887, the school had begun requiring students to register their living arrangements. At the turn of the century, Radcliffe received sufficient donations to begin building dormitories on its small campus. Originally, the dormitories aimed to attract students from beyond the immediate neighborhood by making Radcliffe's "college life" closer to what had become expected of a women's college. Radcliffe could then become, like its parent, a truly national "university." But Agassiz saw in the new dormitories primarily an opportunity for students to incorporate social and domestic formation more intimately into the fabric of their education. Students who lived in the dormitories would not be guests in someone else's home, but hostesses in their own. As such, they had both opportunity and responsibility to develop the character of a "gentlewoman," who consisted of "good breeding, gentle speech and usage, dignity, kindness, and something which perhaps includes them all, sympathy." Like Evelyn's leaders, Agassiz believed that these traits guaranteed an elite woman's influence within her community.[23]

With the appointment of a dean, though, would come an understanding of the moral purpose of women's education simultaneously more concrete and more expansive. This new position signaled the Annex administration's increasing attention to student formation beyond the classroom. When the school incorporated as Radcliffe College in 1894, it secured Agnes Irwin for the job. Agassiz could no longer reside on the campus, and the school's board wanted students to have regular recourse to a maternal figure—after all, with its faculty drawn exclusively from Harvard, all professors were male. Irwin was to model for students an ideal of cultured, intelligent womanhood. Though she had not herself attended college, Irwin was a self-taught, voracious learner raised in a family of politicians and diplomats at home in the upper echelons of American and European society. Appointing Irwin dean was also supposed to lure students from similarly well-connected families to

Radcliffe. The board hoped the presence of these students would bring to the fledgling institution both more money and a broader, more cultured viewpoint, such as Harvard sought to foster.[24]

Like Agassiz, Irwin believed that education unleashed women's distinct powers; unlike Agassiz, Irwin articulated a more specific vision for the use of those powers. She tailored this vision to women, but still left plenty of wiggle room. Irwin had occasional recourse to traits she considered to be most associated with women, such as kindness and sympathy, but more often spoke in terms of the many useful areas of service for Radcliffe graduates. Irwin believed all types of benevolent work fitting for women, and she defined benevolent work quite broadly. Irwin's observations of politics had left her with an outlook similar to Eliot's as to the ends of higher education, namely, that it should train its recipients for national service. Unlike Eliot, however, Irwin believed that college women's service extended beyond teaching schoolchildren and raising their own to working "in the new openings for social service," widely believed to be an extension of women's mothering duties. However, she also considered intellectual life as a type of "service" appropriate for women. Irwin envisioned Radcliffe as uniquely equipped to train the best minds among women; she hoped therefore that increasing numbers of Radcliffe graduates would pursue leadership positions in academia from which they could conduct beneficial original research.[25]

Despite this strong stress on the academic side of college life, Irwin heartily approved of the extracurricular life Radcliffe students had pioneered in the 1890s because she believed it helped form students who were committed to benevolent service broadly defined. Irwin did not single out students' religious clubs for special mention; she believed social spirituality to be fostered from multiple sources. Though an Episcopalian, Irwin hardly ever spoke directly of faith in God, but rather conceived of Radcliffe's orientation toward service to be both the moral and spiritual aspect of its education. The Radcliffe student clubs that Irwin valued thus included those directly concerned with social service, such as the Emmanuel Club, the College Settlement Club, and the Radcliffe Christian Association. But she also praised the Idler, which put on plays, and several more academically oriented clubs that drew together classmates interested in subjects such as history or French. Irwin believed that such club life held "a greater promise of social efficiency" because it broadened students' horizons, giving the young women concern for the world beyond Radcliffe. Dean Irwin likewise hoped that Radcliffe's new dormitories would further expand the broadening influence of all these clubs by allowing Radcliffe to serve a population broader than primarily local women.[26]

During Irwin's tenure as dean (until 1909), the presidency of Radcliffe changed hands in a significant way: on Agassiz's retirement in 1902, the office fell to LeBaron Russell Briggs, concurrently serving as dean of the Harvard faculty. Briggs's appointment cemented relations between the two schools: he did not treat Radcliffe as a side project, but rather advocated the college's interests consistently within the Harvard administration.

Briggs made a fitting replacement for Agassiz because he shared her central conviction that higher education did not make women more like men, but rather made them into the best versions of themselves. Radcliffe could therefore foster women's unique positive contributions to the social order without tailoring its education to their sex. Women, he thought—especially in civilized countries—had attained a higher level of virtue than men. That virtue brought with it the obligation to lift up the men in their lives to greater heights of virtue. In classic nineteenth-century fashion, Briggs believed this goal would be best accomplished through "influence" rather than the ballot. He also noted that women's strengths came with associated weaknesses, such as seeking to do good without tough-minded consideration of the facts. Briggs thought an excellent liberal education would enhance these strengths and correct these weaknesses.

Not only did Briggs share Agassiz's educational philosophy; he also shared her Unitarian faith, and his faith manifested in a similar manner. He referred to God more often than Agassiz, but mostly as the great Lawgiver and source of truth, which is to say the Designer of the incorruptible nature of things that education could only enhance, not mar. Briggs likewise considered education—the study of the world as God had created it—rather than scripture or faith, to provide the primary source of personal growth and encouragement. God's special purposes for women were advanced first and foremost by teaching them about the world God had designed.[27]

With these convictions, Briggs could argue wholeheartedly for the type of education Radcliffe provided, which was to say a Harvard one. In his 1905 commencement speech before the graduating women of Radcliffe, Briggs waxed eloquent about the vision of the ideal Harvard man: at once practical and visionary, a blend of Roosevelt and Emerson, a man whose education ennobled his work with focused purpose to serve his wider community. Then, with no alteration, Briggs applied this same vision to his female audience, who had received exactly the same course of instruction. Briggs likewise believed that extracurricular life at Harvard and Radcliffe shared the same purpose—the one Eliot advocated—namely, that college should broaden students' sympathies through interactions with people significantly different. The Radcliffe president and Harvard dean believed that college life at both

institutions should function as true democracies, which excluded neither rich nor poor. In this way, they would foster righteous human relationships.[28]

Briggs fell somewhere between Irwin and Eliot in his convictions about how exactly Radcliffe graduates should live out these ideals after graduation. Like Irwin, he saw no reason why some women ought not to pursue life paths other than marriage. Like Eliot, however, he placed less emphasis on women expanding their service beyond teaching and child raising and more on how their education would enable them to carry out these more traditional types of service with greater dignity and purpose.[29]

The broadest view of the purpose of Radcliffe would arrive with the second dean to serve under Briggs's watch, namely, Mary Coes (1909–1913). Although Coes only became dean in 1909 with the resignation of Irwin, she had been a fixture at the Annex as a student in the 1880s, assistant secretary, and then secretary for the school when it was incorporated in 1894. Students had long turned to her as well as to Irwin for advice from an older woman.

Coes's understanding of how religion related to the moral value of a Radcliffe education was of a piece with that of her fellow administrators. Coes had a faith in God expressed in modernist doctrinal convictions, Congregationalist in her case. She seemed to relate to God in a more intimate way than did Agassiz; on the back of notes for a speech, we find penciled in Coes's hand: "O Lord, help us to gather in the outscatterings [*sic*] of our minds." Coes also displayed a fondness for hearing the preaching of renowned Boston ministers from various denominations. Yet when considering the moral aspects of Radcliffe, she rarely spoke of religion. Rather, Coes conceived education itself to be fundamentally moral. Coes envisioned a Radcliffe education as training for citizenship, both in terms of the development of the skills needed for effective service, such as discipline and knowledge, and in terms of the necessary outlook, a broad view of human affairs resulting both from the liberal arts curriculum and from socializing with women from diverse walks of life.[30]

Coes's articulation of Radcliffe's moral purpose built on Briggs's contention that a Harvard education formed moral men and moral women equally well—but concluded that therefore they ought to consider similar lines of service. Like the other Radcliffe administrators, Coes thought that "the outcome of higher education ought to be a class of women who have systematic intellectual training without any loss of the cultivation and dignity and charm of their grandmothers." Believing that liberal education increased women's power for service without altering their fundamental nature, Coes argued that Radcliffe should not seek to tailor its offerings to the most likely future duties of women—either literal or "municipal" housekeeping—but

should keep the same broad curriculum as Harvard. The morally formative quality of this education would produce women able to discern where and how they could best serve. Although studiously neutral on the question of suffrage, Coes believed that the moral and intellectual training Radcliffe gave its graduates obligated them to seek leadership positions as these increasingly opened to women.[31]

There was one area in which Coes believed women's colleges ought to differ from men's: the undergraduate social environment. Her reasoning, however, was not to tailor women's training along accepted feminine lines, but rather to improve on the ideals articulated—but not realized—by men's colleges. Coes argued that women's colleges ought to forgo their brothers' emphasis on intercollegiate athletics and secret societies and advance beyond the level of student self-government yet achieved at men's colleges. Coes considered Radcliffe's independence from Harvard in areas beyond the curriculum as an opportunity to mold a college life more truly democratic than Harvard's.

Radcliffe's dean therefore sought to make the morally formative aspect of the extracurriculum its ability to foster democratic values rather than its ability to transmit any particular religious doctrine believed to facilitate a direct relationship with God. A telling example comes from 1911. Coes praised the move that year by the Radcliffe student body to fuse the Emmanuel Club, the Settlement House Association, and the Radcliffe Christian Association, which had previously affiliated with the national Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Coes preferred the new fusion organization, the Radcliffe Guild, in large part because "the Guild is not controlled by an outside organization, as the YWCA was controlled by the National Board, however helpful such a board may be, but is free to adapt itself to the needs of a growing undergraduate body." Her logic focused not on the type of spiritual content transmitted under the two systems (the national YWCA, unlike Coes, was still somewhat evangelical in 1911), but rather on students' collective self-determination of their own spiritual lives.[32]

Coes's elevation of democracy at Radcliffe and concurrent critique of the undemocratic nature of men's collegiate education was all the more forceful because it took place while Harvard was led by a man particularly concerned to foster democratic student life: A. Lawrence Lowell. While Coes fought the tendency to define the moral aspects of collegiate education in gendered terms—she even argued that female collegians beat men at their own game—Lowell continued the Harvard tradition of emphasizing the institution's role in shaping the type of men fit to wisely exercise public power.[33]

Leadership of A. Lawrence Lowell

When Eliot retired in 1909, the same year Coes rose to be dean of Radcliffe, A. Lawrence Lowell took over the presidency of Harvard. He would hold the position until 1933. Lowell built on the academic strength and prestige his predecessor had brought to Harvard, but chose different means to pursue Eliot's ends of making Harvard an institution that prepared men for leadership. Eliot had been immensely popular as a forward-thinking president who led Harvard into the vanguard of modern American higher education. Nonetheless, some flaws in Eliot's reforms had become increasingly apparent over time. Prominent among these were the weaknesses of the total elective system: too often, boys elected only the easiest courses, or put together a hodgepodge of classes that did not fit them well for future employment in any field. Lowell was intimately familiar with these problems; he had served as a political science professor at the university since 1897, and was a member of the influential Committee on Improving Instruction convened in 1902–1903. On assuming presidential office, Lowell therefore immediately sought to rectify the situation by instituting a system of distribution requirements that foreshadowed the ones now in place at many twenty-first-century American colleges and universities. Instead of complete freedom to choose courses, students first had to take courses within several different mandated areas before choosing one area in which to elect further instruction in more depth.[34]

Ironically, one reason for the change was the concern Lowell shared with Eliot for forming the type of men suited to exercise influence in the public square. The new president embraced his predecessor's vision of Harvard as a truly national university, and Lowell believed a Harvard education ought to turn boys into citizens of the larger community, equipped to play their part in the national whole. For Lowell, the unfettered elective system worked against this goal; it isolated each boy in a different curriculum from every other boy, depriving students of a common ground for meeting and conversation. The distribution system, in contrast, would bring together students from different social circles into a common Harvard culture. (Lowell advocated the construction of more dormitories to the same end, a goal that would eventually be realized in Harvard's house system.) Like Woodrow Wilson—another political science professor—Lowell also believed that the breadth of studies resulting from the distribution system would better prepare students to go on to serve as leaders in government, business, and education.

Like John Grier Hibben, Wilson's successor and professor of logic at Princeton, however, Lowell clearly articulated that a college's service to the

nation consisted not only in supplying national-level leaders but also in developing all students' national-mindedness so they could have maximum civic impact from whatever future positions they might hold. For Lowell, meeting this goal meant forming "well-rounded men." By this term, he meant men balanced not only in their studies but also in the athletic, social, and academic sides of life. Lowell lamented that the lack of a common culture, exacerbated by the free elective system, too often resulted in men who specialized in athletics, socializing, or studying to the detriment of other areas of life. Men with a national viewpoint could not be narrow specialists in any one academic field or in any one area of life, nor could they be narrow sectarian thinkers or men whose only cohort was drawn from the narrow social circle to which they belonged prior to college. Training such men constituted Harvard's role in ensuring continued national progress.[35]

Lowell totally identified spirituality at Harvard with this quest to bring social salvation to the nation through graduates' future service. A Unitarian like Eliot, Lowell wrote and spoke about broadly religious concerns as much or more than his predecessor. Drawing on his New England Puritan heritage, in multiple addresses, Eliot's successor asked his listeners to consider the "chief end of man." Lowell asserted that Christianity (understood in a liberal manner) constituted the greatest religion yet developed over the course of human evolution because it pointed to the most transcendent ends. However, in none of Lowell's talks did religious instruction or practice, required or voluntary, play any role in the moral formation of students. Nor did even the ethics classes favored by Eliot. Rather, Lowell believed that the very experience of going off to college and mixing with students from other walks of life developed in students the social sympathy that grounded good character. Additionally, the common education that students received provided them with a common ground from which they could then work out solutions to the thorny moral problems presented by industrialization, immigration, and urbanization. Finally, college served social justice by identifying and training the talented poor. As Wilson had done at Princeton, Lowell collapsed spirituality entirely into its horizontal aspects.

In so doing, Lowell thought about the salvific power of education almost completely in terms of men. He made occasional reference to coeducation at western state universities, but for the most part, his argument in favor of the moral value of college assumed male students because those were the ones most likely to go on to hold public leadership positions at various levels. Lowell believed that elite private male universities served the body politic even more than did public universities (which served a broader constituency with respect to both sex and class), because elite male universities drew stu-

dents from a wider geographic area and self-consciously trained national leaders. Lowell did not oppose women's higher education per se. He assumed it to be a marker of civilization, but unlike Eliot, articulated no philosophy of its purpose.[36]

Lowell's lack of personal attention to women's education is striking inasmuch as he actually seemed to take women's intellectual equality for granted more than had his predecessor. When Lowell gave commencement speeches at women's colleges, he spoke on topics of general interest rather than waxing eloquent on women's education as if it were a peculiarity. He believed education developed in both sexes similar, gender-neutral abilities such as clear thinking and broad knowledge. When speaking to the Junior League, a women's service organization, Lowell posited that, although he lacked experience teaching young women, as students, they were probably a lot like young men.

Furthermore, like Eliot, Lowell believed that women had a distinct, essential role to play in the drama of social improvement that might make their education important. When speaking at the 1911 Radcliffe commencement ceremony on the need for scientific investigation into the principles behind structuring curricula, he averred that college women would take a particular interest in the subject because they gravitated toward pedagogical positions. Lowell's message to the Junior League in 1920 was that women were charged as the particular guardians of the beauty, refinement, and more delicate shades of civilization. Much like Briggs, Lowell argued that young women should therefore make a point of inspiring the men in their lives to attain to greater heights of civilization themselves.[37]

Lowell's view of women's intellect and their unique contribution to collective moral progress could have served as the basis for a philosophy of women's education, or at least for an active interest in it, but Lowell evinced neither. His single-minded identification of the moral contribution of higher education with preparing public-spirited leaders led him to virtually ignore women's higher education. Whereas Eliot had come to argue publicly for the need to make Radcliffe attractive and affordable to women from different social classes and geographic areas—exactly Lowell's goals for Harvard—Lowell instead worried only about how Radcliffe's fund-raising might interfere with Harvard's. Eliot had for the most part limited his fund-raising fears to preventing coeducation. Briggs appealed to Lowell for assurance that, even though both he and Lowell staunchly opposed coeducation, Harvard at least felt some measure of responsibility toward the higher education of women. No such assurance was ever forthcoming. Briggs's fears would later be justified: Radcliffe oral tradition has it that Lowell referred to Radcliffe as

one of three kittens he hoped to strangle during his presidency, and he did in fact attempt to sever ties between the two institutions in the early 1930s. Lowell considered Radcliffe a drain on Harvard's time and resources. Thus, Lowell's highly gendered view of the moral purpose of higher education led the Harvard of the late Progressive Era to downplay its inherited responsibilities toward women's education.[38]

Conclusion

Many parallels are evident between the trajectories of Harvard and Radcliffe and those of Princeton and Evelyn. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both men's institutions sought to make a place for themselves in the project of nation building by contending that the nation's future would be shaped primarily from the top down—and that they trained the men at the top. Both believed that shaping those leaders meant facilitating not a new heart toward God, nor even generic strength of character, but rather the specific moral strengths associated with powerful men. At Princeton, this belief represented a significant shift. The institution had always sought to train male leaders, but had previously believed that evangelical conversion and general character training would make graduates into the type of people who would wield power well. At Harvard, the shift was subtler because the Cambridge institution had already long emphasized horizontal spirituality. Yet it too moved further along that spectrum: religious training, which necessarily contained an aspect of vertical spirituality oriented directly toward God, became less important to the administration's overall program of moral formation over time.

Indeed, at both institutions, the administration shifted away from emphasizing religion as a central element in student moral formation and toward emphasizing the roles of the liberal arts curriculum, various student societies, and athletics. In both cases, the goal was to avoid all perceptions of narrow sectarianism by downplaying the specific denominational heritage of each institution. Instead, both universities marketed themselves as cornering a different, more widely respected market: the production of national leaders. What made this claim plausible was that these institutions, unlike leading state universities, admitted only men. Transitioning to a type of moral formation that focused on men specifically therefore bolstered their claims to national significance.

Likewise, a combination of gender ideology, financial reality, and religious conviction shaped the development of moral formation at both Radcliffe and

Evelyn. These coordinate colleges faced a conundrum: they shared a curriculum with their neighboring men's colleges, but those colleges increasingly argued that they formed graduates possessing specifically male character and capabilities. Radcliffe and Evelyn had to argue that a distinct product could be formed when the same curriculum was taught in a different setting. And they had to do so on a much tighter budget than the one that underwrote the men's institutions. A counterintuitive situation resulted: despite inherited nineteenth-century assumptions about the connection between women and religion, religion at the coordinate women's colleges actually played a smaller role in the moral formation of students than at their better-established brother colleges.

At Evelyn, fewer financial resources led its leaders to woo wealthy students by emphasizing the college's capacity to develop those mental and moral traits most desired in elite women; in order to do so, administrators there placed even less stress on religion in general and Godward spirituality in particular than at contemporary Princeton, where Patton was transitioning toward more gendered moral formation as well. Meanwhile, limited funds at Radcliffe led its leaders to concentrate all available resources on offering women Harvard's curriculum, which contained no religious instruction but could be said to inculcate certain moral traits. Radcliffe administrators shared with Harvard administrators a similar belief in the paramount spiritual importance of social behavior, so they argued that the same mental and moral forces acting on different material—women instead of men—would produce different, sex-appropriate results. As resources grew, Radcliffe could offer extracurricular opportunities, including religious ones, designed in part to form graduates more explicitly prepared for sex-specific types of service to their communities. Over time, however, an overall educational experience still quite similar to Harvard's led some Radcliffe leaders to abandon the gendered understanding of the moral purpose of higher education common among those who advocated a primarily horizontal spirituality. Administrators such as Dean Mary Coes contended that if Radcliffe students received a comparable education to Harvard students, they too were equipped for the same positions of public leadership. Independent women's colleges would also wrestle with how to connect their all-female identity with their moral contribution to society, thus sometimes expanding women's roles and other times constricting them.

Chapter 7

"Not to Be Ministered unto, but to Minister"

Wellesley College

"There cannot be too many Mount Holyokes," Henry Fowle Durant is said to have remarked. Indeed, the founder of Wellesley intended his new women's college to be a truly collegiate version of the South Hadley seminary, complete with rigorous religious routine and domestic labor done by students to make the school more affordable. He embraced Mary Lyon's design out of a similar evangelical pragmatism that hoped thereby to increase the number of Christian converts well-equipped and motivated to save the world.[1]

But that world changed in the twenty years following Wellesley's founding in 1875. Durant came from an era when many leading intellectuals held traditional evangelical Protestant beliefs and when the most common approach to social reform involved attempting to reform a sufficiently large number of individual people, be it from conversion or character development. He believed, therefore, that the way to both provide students with satisfying lives and improve society was to convert students to evangelical Protestantism and equip them to diffuse their beliefs and values widely after graduation. Additionally, not only the women's seminary culture but also the men's college culture, with which Durant was familiar, involved significant oversight of students in loco parentis by faculty and administration to aid in the moral and intellectual formation of students. Yet even in the early years of Wellesley's existence, all these cultural realities were shifting. Intellectual

developments in both science and literature meant fewer scholars adhered to traditional doctrine, leading to a shrinking pool of theologically conservative candidates for professorships. Social challenges arising from industrialization, urbanization, and immigration threw doubt on traditional approaches to social reform. Finally, increased student freedom gradually became the norm in colleges across the country.[2]

The experience of Wellesley College exemplifies the transformation of many leading women's colleges patterned more or less closely after Mount Holyoke. Ensuring respect for the college in the new cultural environment meant embracing a modernist style of Christianity that eschewed emphasis on conversion in favor of emphasis on righteous living. Accordingly, the college adopted a new moral vision that focused more on the social order. Doing so in turn meant that, in accordance with the discourse of the time, Wellesley also gave more attention to women's particular role within that order. Finally, ensuring the college's respectability also meant admitting more girls from wealthier backgrounds at the expense of affordability for some other women. Thus, ironically, increasing concern to specify exactly how Wellesley graduates could use their status as educated women to help alleviate increasingly distressing economic and social conditions coincided with the higher tuition that ensured graduates themselves would come from wealthier backgrounds.

Founding Purpose

Like Mary Lyon at Mount Holyoke and John J. Shipherd at Oberlin, Henry Fowle Durant's interest in women's higher education crystallized after an evangelical conversion experience. During his career, Durant, a Harvard-trained Boston lawyer, rivaled the legal success and fame of his elder, Daniel Webster. A decisive, commanding personality and a powerful orator, Durant amassed great wealth and influence as a lawyer. He and his wife, Pauline, intended to pass on their grand estate to their only, beloved son, Henry Jr. (They had earlier lost another child, a daughter, shortly after her birth.) When Henry also died tragically of an illness at the age of eight in 1863, leaving the couple childless, the elder Henry dedicated his life and fortune to God in an experience he understood as Christian conversion. Durant had always attended church, but had maintained a faith in God less all-encompassing than that of his evangelical wife. After his son's death, Durant found meaning and purpose in an evangelical Protestant type of faith in Christ as Savior and Lord that then led him consciously to orient all of his

activities toward advancing Christ's kingdom on earth. Pauline Durant welcomed his change of heart, and joined with him in discerning how they could best use their exceptional resources in the service of God.[3]

For Durant, serving God meant testifying to divine love by both preaching the gospel and engaging in acts of service. Declaring that "the Law and the Gospel are irreconcilable," Durant quit his legal practice and took up lay preaching at evangelistic meetings. Much like Charles Finney of Oberlin, that other great converted lawyer to whom Durant was sometimes compared, Durant believed Christian faithfulness also meant letting his love for God overflow into reform activities intended to bring this world into closer alignment with the heavenly pattern. Nineteenth-century evangelicals regarded many of their favorite reforms, such as temperance, abolition, and women's education, not only as just in themselves but also as a means to free or train more people for spreading the gospel message of reconciliation with God through faith in Christ.[4]

The combination of Pauline's background and several of Henry's preconversion experiences led the Durants to settle on the higher education of women as the reform cause for which they would pour out their lives and fortune. Before her marriage to Henry, Pauline had wanted to attend Mount Holyoke, but the death of several family members prevented her. Meanwhile, Henry had prepared for Harvard at a private school in Waltham run by a husband and wife team, Samuel and Sarah Ripley (the uncle and aunt of Ralph Waldo Emerson). Sarah was fluent in English, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and German. She heard—and corrected—the recitations of the young men learning Virgil and Homer while simultaneously sewing or cooking. The combination of Sarah Ripley's erudition and mastery of traditionally feminine skills impressed Durant and remained in his memory as an ideal. Durant had also developed concern for educating the poor as an essential component of a democracy. In an 1862 address at Bowdoin College the year before his conversion, Durant asserted: "The cause of God's poor is the sublime gospel of American freedom. . . . It is our faith that our institutions approach perfection only when every child can be educated and elevated to the station of a free and intelligent citizen."[5]

These experiences coalesced into an articulated plan for service when the Durants first visited Mount Holyoke in 1865. There, the couple encountered a school dedicated to the higher education of poorer women in an environment in which students kept domestic skills in practice—all for the purpose of advancing God's kingdom by fostering student conversions and preparing them to be effective missionary teachers on graduation. Almost no institution could have matched the Durants' interests and passions more

closely. In 1867, Henry joined the board and began plans to found a similar school. In a letter accompanying his will, he wrote of himself and his wife: "The great object we both have in view is the appropriation and consecration of our country place and other property to the service of the Lord Jesus Christ, by erecting a seminary on the plan (modified by circumstances) of South Hadley."[6]

Circumstances did indeed modify the plan of South Hadley, but Wellesley College nonetheless retained remarkable similarities to Mount Holyoke. By the time Durant's plans for Wellesley were under way, Vassar College had opened and was providing truly collegiate-grade education for women. The Durants therefore decided to make Wellesley a full-fledged college rather than a seminary. Yet Wellesley followed Mount Holyoke's academic structure in one key regard: even though it operated on a level that required professors to have higher training, it retained an all-female faculty. Durant famously declared: "Women can do the work and I give them the chance." Moreover, in order to copy the religious influence of the teachers at Mount Holyoke, he required that all the members of his faculty also be members of an evangelical church.

In a departure from Mount Holyoke, though, Henry Durant wanted to provide "silk accommodations" for his "calico girls." Unlike Mary Lyon, the Durants possessed great wealth, owned many fine things, and had a refined sense of style. Henry Durant believed in the uplifting power of beauty, both inside and outside the college buildings. Had family pressure not prevailed, he would have been a poet rather than a lawyer. Durant remarked: "I hope to make Wellesley so beautiful that the girls will forgive it the work and the prayer."[7]

The work and the prayer were intense, designed to mold highly skilled, highly religious graduates, but little intentionally sought to shape them as women per se. The academic work was beyond that yet achieved at Mount Holyoke. Wellesley offered the traditional collegiate bachelor of arts degree, complete with an emphasis on Latin, Greek, and mathematics. Even freshmen, however, could elect courses in modern languages and the natural sciences, opportunities increasingly popular in men's colleges. A Wellesley education also included a second type of work: Durant imported the domestic labor system from Mount Holyoke. Although he valued mastery of traditionally feminine skills such as that observed in the erudite Sarah Ripley, he concurred with Lyon's judgment as to the supreme value of a liberal arts education for women as well as men. Accordingly, his rationale for importing Holyoke's domestic system was primarily to make the school affordable to poorer girls rather than to add a peculiarly feminine element to a Wellesley

education. The pattern of prayer at Wellesley also rivaled that at Mount Holyoke. Durant basically lifted wholesale the religious organization of the seminary. Students lived, ate, and studied together in one big building, College Hall, overseen by faculty monitors who lived among students throughout the dormitory. In this setting, Wellesley girls participated in the same round of religious activities as Holyoke girls—two periods a day of silent meditation, two daily chapel meetings, and Bible study throughout all four years of the college course.[8]

Yet slight alterations to the seminary plan, designed to fit the system more to a traditional college environment, made both work and prayer at Wellesley somewhat more genteel than at Mount Holyoke. Although Wellesley students worked at domestic labor for one hour each day, the college employed servants to perform the most strenuous or difficult tasks, including all food preparation, tasks for which students at Mount Holyoke still maintained responsibility. On the religious side at Mount Holyoke, teachers met regularly with students to discuss the students' religious state. At Wellesley, teachers held sectional meetings with students after chapel, but those meetings consisted only of a formal Bible lesson, not of individualized examination of students' consciences. This element was not altogether absent, however, as Durant himself frequently approached students to question their behavior or their religious state. No definite punishment awaited violators of mandatory quiet time, bedtime hours, or hall decorum, merely severe admonition by the faculty, which on the whole reserved such admonition only for extreme or blatant cases. Unlike their sisters at South Hadley, Wellesley students were not required to report their own violations of the rules. The domestic and religious elements of their educations therefore remained somewhat less internalized by students at Wellesley than by those at Mount Holyoke.[9]

The similarities between the two schools outweighed the differences in large measure because the Durants' philosophy of women's education closely mirrored Mary Lyon's: they believed that offering women the same broad curriculum that was offered to men formed them best and made them most useful to God. Henry Durant laid out this philosophy most clearly in a sermon entitled "The Spirit of the College," which he delivered to the students of Wellesley in 1877, two years after its founding. Durant believed women and men to be equally endowed by God with mental, emotional, and spiritual faculties that a general liberal arts curriculum nourished. Thus, educating women was an intrinsic moral good. "We revolt against the slavery in which women are held by the customs of society," Durant announced, "the broken health, the aimless lives, the subordinate position, the helpless

dependence, the dishonesties and shams of so-called education." Educating women was also an instrumental good: it served God because it made half the population more "useful" than they were at present, which was to say better equipped to be of service to God in a variety of ways.[10]

Durant certainly did assume that many educated women would serve God in ways in keeping with traditional feminine traits and roles. Like the administrators of Radcliffe, he believed women to possess some innately feminine attributes that a liberal arts education would only enhance, not undo, such as "purity and delicacy and refinement." Durant also thought that women's traditional roles of mother and particularly teacher held great potential for bringing about cultural change. Durant remarked: "Who is to govern the country? Give me the teachers." He made specific accommodation for training such teachers at Wellesley, providing for the admission of "teacher specials," who lived in a separate cottage and could study subjects of their choice without enrolling in the complete bachelor's program. Durant's motivation is clear from a letter in which he remarked: "What would Massachusetts be if our 9,000 women teachers were all of them Christians?"[11]

Strikingly, however, Durant emphasized not these traditional areas of service, but rather the open-ended nature of what a Wellesley education could prepare women to do. He asserted that "[God] is calling womanhood to come up higher, to prepare itself for great conflicts, for vast reforms in social life, for noblest usefulness." Durant's reference to "vast reforms in social life" anticipated the increasing interest in social work among educated women during the following decades. In the tradition of antebellum moral reformers, however, Durant conceived of social reform more as individual moral transformation than as redressing systemic social injustice. He therefore suggested that students participate in temperance advocacy, mission work, and moral reform. He also exhorted students to lead moral reform by example by renouncing frivolity (such as the theater, mixed dancing, shallow novels, and "doubtful amusements in general"). But, ultimately, Durant believed God was doing a new thing through the higher education of women, so he encouraged students to seek God's will for themselves once their education had achieved "the supreme development and unfolding of every power and faculty."[12]

Durant believed that in order to hear from God in this way, Wellesley students would first have to convert to evangelical Christianity. In 1871, he placed a Bible in the cornerstone of College Hall bearing this inscription: "This building is humbly dedicated to our Heavenly Father, with the hope and prayer that He may always be first in everything in this institution; that His Word may be faithfully taught here; and that He will use it as a means

of leading precious souls to the Lord Jesus Christ." Durant believed that true education—for women or men—must include instruction in the traditional doctrines of the Reformation, which he defined in terms of "justification through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ" and the teaching that "the blood of Jesus Christ [God's] Son cleanseth us from all sin." He did not perceive these beliefs as sectarian, but rather as the essence of the entire Protestant tradition, which he considered to be the one true faith.[13]

Durant remarked that such instruction could not be considered to infringe on the rights of conscience because students were not required to pray or worship, only to attend services and Bible classes and to learn. He considered such instruction essential to true education, asking, "[since] religious truth is, in one word, the knowledge of God's laws for man. . . . Is a God-created child to be educated for living, being, and doing in God's world by keeping it in ignorance of God's law?" Durant observed a correlation between instruction in what he believed to be the core of the Protestant faith and the forward march of civilization: "Whenever and wherever Justification through Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ has been taught and believed and lived, there has come a steady growth of personal freedom, safety of home and property, equal and just laws, elevation of the poor, sanctity and elevation of woman, advance of knowledge and civilization." Durant thus believed that traditional Protestant doctrine both encouraged the higher education of women and equipped newly educated women to contribute to further advances in the establishment of a Christian civilization on earth.[14]

The educational, domestic, and religious threads that Durant wove into Wellesley did not survive the intellectual, social, and cultural changes of the late nineteenth century unaltered. Tensions present in Durant's thought would later lead to tensions among Wellesley's trustees, faculty, and students about how best to adapt those elements to a new situation. Durant envisioned Wellesley as a blend of the academic tradition of the best men's colleges and the religious tradition of the best women's seminaries. Yet "college" increasingly connoted a type of extracurricular life incompatible with the social regulations of an institution like Mount Holyoke. Additionally, much of the public believed Mount Holyoke's structure to be geared toward guarding women's virtue. Durant, in contrast, valued the system for its proven ability to foster religious conversion and did not want Wellesley's structure to communicate a belief in any fundamental differences between the proper education of men and of women. Also, Mount Holyoke in large measure turned out missionary-minded teachers, and such work was Durant's default paradigm for women's usefulness beyond the household, but at the same time, he wanted students to be open to any possible future calling to usefulness.

Finally, Durant admired how Mount Holyoke's domestic labor system enabled a greater percentage of women to afford to prepare for more effective service to God. He therefore used the same technique to help keep Wellesley's tuition quite low. He also hoped that domestic labor would serve to equalize the class differences that did exist among students: all had to do their own manual work. Durant, however, added beauty and refinement to the students' living experience, unavailable at Mount Holyoke. Mary Lyon designed the seminary to be, in her words, "plain, but very neat." Durant, instead, ordered Wedgwood place settings for Wellesley's dining room and deposited black walnut furniture on patterned carpets in its dormitory rooms. Student domestic labor offset some of the costs of maintaining an institution on a grander scale than Mount Holyoke, but Mount Holyoke students actually did more strenuous work on their plainer, simpler model. No wonder Wellesley ran an average annual deficit of $50,000. During his life, Durant happily made up the difference out of pocket, but the system would not be sustainable. After Durant passed away in 1881, all these tensions produced contrasting visions for how to integrate the college's religious, gender, and class identities.[15]

New Purpose

Vida Dutton Scudder exemplified the shape into which Wellesley's administration and faculty eventually molded the school's dual religious and female identity. Scudder joined the English faculty in 1888 after completing a BA and an MA at Smith. She had also studied at Oxford, where she attended the lectures of John Ruskin. These lectures sparked in her a lifelong interest in ameliorating social wrongs. Scudder herself came from a privileged background—she descended on both sides from well-established New England families—and she felt a burden of responsibility to find a means to work against social divisions. Less than two years later, after joining Wellesley's faculty, Scudder helped found the national College Settlement Association to connect privileged college women with service opportunities among the less fortunate.[16]

Along with many other Wellesley faculty and administrators at the turn of the century, Scudder questioned the means that Durant had advocated to achieve the end of the highest usefulness of woman. New intellectual challenges to traditional Protestant doctrine convinced many of these women (and many other American intellectuals) that the doctrines Durant considered nonsectarian and essential to the broad Protestant tradition were instead

narrow and constricting. They believed an academically excellent college could therefore not insist on them. Accordingly, in order to avoid losing talented faculty, in 1890, the board relaxed the requirement that faculty members belong to an evangelical church. Instead they had to be of Christian character, a requirement in keeping with the modernist shift in emphasis away from regulations governing a personal relationship with God and toward regulations governing interpersonal relationships within the human community.[17]

Simultaneously with intellectual challenges to conservative faith, the rise in social tensions resulting from the increasing gap between rich and poor due to industrialization, urbanization, and immigration led these women and many others to rethink the relationship between religious faith and social reform. Just as modernists concluded that rightly relating to God lay primarily in rightly relating to others, so also many of them altered their understanding of the nature of salvation. This group of modernists believed salvation was better understood as a collective event—the conversion of a society to a social order in keeping with God's principles—rather than as the conversion of an individual, or even a series of individuals, to faith in Christ. Much of the Wellesley faculty embraced this "social gospel."[18]

These shifts in belief required Wellesley's faculty to rearticulate the moral significance of women's higher education. Durant had argued that this significance lay in converting and then fully developing the talents of the underutilized half of the population for whatever service God might have in store for them. Turn-of-the-century Wellesley faculty instead played up a specific type of service for which they believed God intended college to prepare women, namely, working to address social problems. At the same time, they de-emphasized a conversion experience designed to put women in a right relationship with God, independent of their relations with others. Furthermore, unlike Durant, these faculty members argued that women specifically best performed the service for which college prepared them. The higher education of women did not merely produce more bodies for the work; it produced a new type of body—the college-educated woman—particularly suited to the new field of social work.

This move was consonant with the liberal Protestant conviction that God was at work in history, bringing about his kingdom through the progressive development of both doctrine and civilization. In this vein, Vida Scudder, like many Wellesley faculty and administrators, argued that the rise of women's higher education providentially coincided with the rise of concern among Christians for remaking the social order in a more just manner. In this way, she drew on Wellesley's identity as a deeply religious college—now liberal

Protestant rather than evangelical—to articulate a place of special significance for college-educated women.[19]

College-educated women, she claimed, uniquely combined two sets of traits that made them particularly fit for social work. First, as women, they retained the distinct feminine characteristics of "quick sympathy, unfailing tenderness, the desire to minister to suffering whether of soul or body, swift intuition, and a high spiritual ideal." Second, a college education caused the "emotional intuition" of women to be "balanced and restrained by greater executive power, by broader interests, by wider and truer knowledge of the world." Solving the social problem, Scudder claimed, required neither a purely mechanistic approach nor a purely sentimental approach. Rather, peace between the classes would only come through the combination of interpersonal kindness and intelligent, long-range planning, a combination at which college women excelled. Scudder also believed that the training of college women suited them to bridge the gap between rich and poor for a second reason: they were educated both to appreciate the culture of the rich and to be concerned for the plight of the poor. She therefore argued that settlement house work in particular would prove an especially effective means for these women to contribute to the establishment of a more godly social order.[20]

The settlement house movement in the United States was just taking off at the time of Scudder's speech; Jane Addams founded the first American settlement, Hull House, in Chicago in 1889. A settlement house was a large dwelling in a poor, often immigrant urban neighborhood. Several highly educated middle-class white women would move into this house and furnish it nicely to upper-middle-class standards (such that living there was strikingly similar to living in a college dormitory with other women). These women would then offer various programs and amenities to the community, particularly those geared toward women and children: a day nursery, a place from which to dispense medicine and medical advice, a boardinghouse, an art gallery, a music school, and cooking and cleaning lessons. The stated purpose of a settlement house was twofold. First, the women of the house hoped to share the benefits of their superior education with women who were less fortunate: they wanted to expose immigrant women to high art and music and also to instruct them on the latest research into hygiene and child-raising techniques. (Immigrant women found these encounters helpful in some ways and abrasive in others.) Second, settlement house work was intended to benefit the college-educated women who lived there. It developed their understanding of and sympathy for their poorer sisters, which settlement workers believed to be as necessary to true social peace as the uplift

of the poor. It also provided college women an outlet for their intelligence and training, where they felt they could actually make a difference in the world. Women who lived in settlement homes not only provided services to their immediate neighborhood but also went out into the community and inspected the water supply, garbage disposal, and sanitary conditions, and then reported violations and lobbied government for better municipal services.[21]

Scudder believed service in a settlement house to be a distinctively feminine vocation. The idea had actually originated in England in 1884, with the establishment of Toynbee Hall in London by a group of male college graduates. Scudder chastised women for allowing men to think of the idea first, asserting that "obviously such work is woman's work; it has for its very essence the power of home-making, which has always been supposed to be a feminine prerogative." And, indeed, in the United States, settlement house work would come to be dominated by college-educated women. Perhaps they bought into Scudder's argument: "That a new vocation for our educated girls is sorely needed, can be doubted by no one who realizes the vast pressure on the teacher's professions from the crowds of new teachers who enter the ranks every year. And this new vocation thus offered is one . . . for which college women are quite peculiarly equipped."[22]

Scudder also argued that settlement house work constituted an ideal matrix in which to serve God according to the new, modernist understanding of Protestant Christianity. Noting that an interest in the practical teachings of Christ had of late overtaken concern for "theological speculation," she praised "the growing desire to follow the example, to do the will, of the Master." Referring to life in a settlement house, she claimed: "I can imagine no life in which definite and literal obedience to his commands, definite and literal treading in His footsteps, are so simple as here." It was educated women who were in the vanguard of God's work. Realizing, however, that not all college-educated women would be drawn to work in settlement houses, Scudder argued that they could all nonetheless find various ways to place their unique strengths in the service of "the Master" by helping solve the social problem from other angles.[23]

Thus, for Scudder and many members of the Wellesley faculty, settlement house work in particular and "sociological work" in general proved an ideal goal toward which to direct their charges' training. Both early and later Wellesley faculty sought to use a liberal arts education to sharpen students' mental abilities and broaden their outlook. Turn-of-the-century faculty, however, had moved from advocating evangelical doctrine as the best preparation for unspecified and hence ungendered future service, toward advocating Christian social principles as the best preparation for specific,

gendered future service. By transmitting a type of religion more respected among turn-of-the-century academics than Durant's would have been, Wellesley's faculty ensured respect for the intellectual quality of the college's academic program. By articulating the moral purpose of that education in gendered terms, Wellesley's faculty sought acknowledgment of the crucial significance of women's higher education in general and women's colleges in particular: work critical to achieving the ideal society could only be accomplished by college-educated women.[24]

Dynamics of Transition from Old to New

The key transition figure between Durant's vision of the relationship between religion, gender, and education, and that of turn-of-the-century Wellesley faculty such as Scudder was Wellesley's second president, Alice Freeman. Durant had wanted Wellesley to incorporate both the pious environment of Mount Holyoke and the scholarship level of Harvard. The Mount Holyoke graduate he appointed as Wellesley's first president, Ada Howard, represented the ideal of piety, while several of the recruited faculty members represented the ideal of the scholarship. These ideals did not coexist easily. Although some students appreciated the mix of scholarship, domestic work, and religion, many had entered Wellesley precisely because it was a college rather than a seminary, and their understanding of college life included a great deal more freedom than was available at Mount Holyoke. On the faculty side, while many professors accepted Durant's vision for the school, others chafed at the requirements that they tightly supervise their students and that they teach Bible in addition to their already full schedules in their specialties. When an irritated member of the faculty asked Durant to clarify whether Wellesley was to be a college in reality as well as name or whether it was to be merely a seminary, he responded that "so far as the intellectual work was concerned it was a college, but in its care for the students' health, morals, etc. it was a seminary." Tensions roiled the faculty and students, particularly as Ada Howard became increasingly ill and unable to perform her duties.[25]

At this time, a deteriorating Durant decided to advocate Alice Freeman (1881–1887) as the next president. Freeman had strong religious and educational credentials, the interpersonal skills to mediate between competing factions, and a background in a freer collegiate environment for women at the University of Michigan. Durant realized that Freeman would lead the institution away from seminary-style governance, but he admired her abilities and

hoped she would find a more amicable way to retain his religious convictions within the fabric of the school's life.[26]

Instead, Freeman bridged the old and the new Wellesley by steadily leading the school away from not only restrictive social regulations but also from the transmission of conservative Protestant doctrine. Like Scudder would later advocate, Freeman had come to believe the most important Christian doctrines were those dealing with ethical conduct. Yet unlike Scudder, who would articulate a clear philosophy of Christian socialism, Freeman did not articulate a specific vision for a righteous new social order. Like Durant, Freeman believed such an order would arise from reforming a sufficient number of individuals and left the details of their subsequent service to society unspecified. Unlike Durant, however, she believed the needed reform originated more from character development than conversion. As she did not believe evangelical theology necessary to producing character, she deemphasized it. Rather, Freeman sought to instill in students "enlarged conceptions of religion," by which she meant simply a desire to live out Wellesley's motto: "Not to be ministered unto, but to minister."[27]

Freeman proved a transitional figure in a second way as well: she argued for the moral value of women's higher education using more gendered terms than Durant, but for the most part still saw the rationale for their participation in social service as simply more bodies for the work. More than Durant, Freeman linked the significance of women's higher education with their peculiar role in shaping the next generation in both the home and the schoolhouse, in her case, the role of molding character rather than the role of inspiring conversion. Noting that solving social problems always involved chiefly "the character of the people"—she claimed the country already possessed enough money and knowledge to address the issues—Freeman averred that the fate of American civilization therefore rested on the education of women. She also believed that women ought to join men in addressing social problems in more direct fashion through service in settlement houses, city missions, and children's aid societies, but, unlike Scudder, she did not consider this service distinctively feminine work.[28]

To best fit Wellesley students for service, Freeman sought to liberalize Wellesley's religious culture; she believed Christianity nurtured morality but that students needed greater freedom in its practice in order to develop the mature character that would motivate a life of service. Consequently, Freeman founded a voluntary student Wellesley College Christian Association (after the pattern of her alma mater) in order to transfer much of the responsibility for fostering student faith from the faculty to the students themselves. She also moved to appoint more religiously liberal members to the

board and faculty. Finally, Freeman converted Bible study into an academic subject with its own faculty in place of the previous system of requiring all professors to teach a small section with an eye toward the Christian development of their students. The new approach gave students the most up-to-date religious knowledge and then left them free to apply it as they would. Bible organized as an independent department in 1892–1893 and then reorganized in 1896–1897 as the "Department of Biblical History, Literature, and Interpretation." As the name suggests, the department studied the Bible from the perspective of historical criticism. Eliza Kendricks, chair of the department from 1909 to 1930, helped found the National Association of Biblical Instructors in 1906 and served as the association's president in 1926–1927. Wellesley thus became one of the first colleges to incorporate academic study of the Bible into its regular curriculum. In this manner, the college continued to act on the injunction inscribed in the Bible placed within its cornerstone, "that His Word may be faithfully taught here." Its interpretation was simply increasingly modernist rather than evangelical.[29]

Finally, to enable Wellesley's graduates to access the most significant service opportunities on graduation, Freeman made additional changes designed to gain respect for the college by other elite educators. In addition to bringing the teaching of the Bible up to current academic standards, Freeman also strengthened Wellesley's academic program by abolishing the Preparatory Department and fostering in its stead independent Wellesley preparatory academies. She also made the college's social life more genteel by overseeing the establishment of several cottages to serve as additional student living quarters beyond College Hall. Freeman thus copied the system pioneered by Smith College to create a supposedly more family-like, and hence more refined environment for young girls than being thrown together in one giant building under strict supervision. A matron oversaw each cottage and several faculty members resided there as role models for the students. To finance these changes, Freeman gradually raised tuition from $250 a year to $300.[30]

Future presidents would follow in Freeman's footsteps. When Alice Freeman stepped down from the presidency in 1887 to become Alice Freeman Palmer (by marrying philosopher George Herbert Palmer of Harvard), she joined Wellesley's board and shepherded her vision for the school to completion by handpicking the next three presidents. Wellesley therefore continued to foster constantly rising academic standards, and also greater freedom in religious practice and social life. The former represented a continuation of the founders' vision; the latter, a departure. To facilitate the changes, tuition continued to grow rapidly, a second departure from the

founders' intentions. Without the counterbalancing impulse to spread the gospel message widely by putting Wellesley training within reach of as many women as possible, fitting Wellesley women for social service now seemed best accomplished by recourse to more expensive facilities and faculty. Thus, a growing focus on educated women's special call to serve the poor coincided with an increasingly wealthy student body.[31]

The next two presidents rose from within the Wellesley faculty and oversaw continued improvements in the academic quality of the institution and continued expansion of students' responsibility to govern themselves. Helen Shafer (1887–1894), a mathematics professor—and graduate of Oberlin—appointed talented new faculty and shepherded through a major change in the curriculum: in imitation of the latest theories at men's and coeducational institutions, the new system vastly increased elective opportunities. To finance these changes, she raised tuition to $350. After Shafer's death in 1894, Alice Freeman Palmer convinced the board to appoint the liberal Quaker professor of Greek, Julia Irvine (1894–1899), as her successor.[32]

Irvine continued Shafer's efforts at improving Wellesley's academic quality, this time by rather ruthlessly cutting senior faculty—often evangelicals—she deemed not up to snuff. To secure Wellesley's reputation, and hence its graduates' opportunities, Irvine also abolished mandatory silent reflection time, made chapel voluntary, opened the library on Sunday, eliminated domestic labor, and increased tuition to $400, nearly double its relatively low levels during the days of Durant. Pauline Durant had succeeded her husband as treasurer of the board on his death and loudly protested these changes in an unsuccessful fight against more religiously liberal board members to keep alive the original vision for the school. Irvine's argument to the trustees for replacing domestic labor with higher tuition reveals just how far the school had departed from the founder's vision: "The poorer girls, trained to such work at home, were usually faithful and efficient, but those who came from well-to-do families that kept a maid were too often careless or ignorant, and their work was a dangerous tax upon the resources of the college."[33]

The faculty that survived Irvine's purging generally supported her goals, but many questioned her methods, thus leading to the final key leadership transition of this period: to ease these tensions and solidify the institution's financial situation, the board pursued new presidential candidates, preferably male, from beyond the institution. The hope was that such a candidate would bring to the institution both stability and wealthy contacts. Pauline Durant won her only battle of this era, insisting that the trustees appoint a woman as the new president in order to remain true to the school's founding belief that women could excel at all collegiate roles. In 1899, Alice Free-

man Palmer organized the selection of Caroline Hazard as Wellesley's first president drawn from outside the faculty.[34]

Hazard married Palmer's focus on fostering character development with Scudder's focus on preparing women to play a unique role in repairing the social order by adding a touch distinctively hers—a renewed emphasis on Durant's ideal of beauty, now turned toward these different ends. Hazard, a Quaker poet and able administrator with no college degree—but with the desired wealthy connections—gave institutional form to Wellesley's new, more genteel religious and social environment. Following after Palmer, Hazard declared: "Direct influence is useless; growth that is forced is sure to be unhealthy. But the tender plant can be placed under favorable conditions for growth. There is a moral atmosphere, as well as a physical one, and this upper ether is capable of control." Because of the link between the true, the good, and the beautiful, moral development would occur best, she believed, in a beautiful environment. The president instituted evening vespers, planted daffodils by the lake, and oversaw the construction of beautiful new buildings.[35]

In like manner, Hazard also centered the school's religious life on its beautiful new chapel, completed in the year of her inauguration. The elegant chapel signaled Wellesley's new acceptability to the elite Unitarians and Episcopalians of Boston, who had previously shunned the school as a rural evangelical backwater despite its proximity to the metropolis. Contrary to earlier presidents who had reported on the status of religion at Wellesley by focusing on the voluntary student Christian association, Hazard instead reported on the activities taking place in the chapel, whose services students were encouraged but no longer required to attend. Hazard took a particular interest in designing the chapel worship services, especially with respect to their musical components. Taking a cue from Durant in a different direction, she sought to make the experience so beautiful, not that the girls would forgive it the prayer, but that they would attend voluntarily. In a triumph of aesthetics over doctrine, Hazard explained in 1902 why chapel no longer included a homily: "I have felt that where there was so much direct instruction as in a college, the religious services should aim to give spiritual food in its purest form in the words of Holy Writ and in the acts of prayer and worship." She therefore kept morning services to fifteen minutes of prayer, scripture, and music.[36]

Like Scudder, Hazard also argued that women's colleges prepared their graduates for a unique role in the social order. Hazard asserted that women had an essential nature, the "eternal feminine," consisting of an "endless capacity of love and devotion" or "altruism." Because this heartfelt desire to serve others constituted women's "gift . . . responsibility . . . [and] contribution

to human life," for women "the powers of the mind must be trained to regulate the emotions." Also like Scudder, Hazard argued that women's education was particularly important at that moment. The law of nature underlying what it meant to be male or female would never change, but the law of nature was also growth. It was part of the divine plan that new opportunities for women's service to larger society were opening up, and women must train to be worthy of them. Wellesley's president announced, in much the same spirit as her faculty: "The day of cloistered learning has gone by; knowledge for service is what we seek." Hazard thus intended Wellesley's beautiful environment to foster the character development that would direct women's trained minds and innately generous hearts along a steady course of useful service.[37]

Wellesley continued along this basic trajectory for the remainder of the Progressive Era, when the period's final president, Ellen Fitz Pendleton (1911–1936), continued to emphasize female-dominated social service occupations for which Wellesley graduates would be particularly suited. Pendleton had been an intimate participant in the development of Wellesley up to that point: she had received her Wellesley BA in 1886, and joined the Wellesley mathematics faculty in 1888 (earning an MA in 1891). In 1901, she became dean under Hazard and took over many of Hazard's responsibilities when the president would travel or when illness absented her from her duties. Impressed with Pendleton's leadership, the faculty had strongly advocated her as Hazard's successor.[38]

Pendleton also continued to view supplying workers for these service fields as the fulfillment of Wellesley's religious mission. In a speech to the World's Student Christian Federation annual meeting in 1913, her list of the "Christian" professions into which Wellesley graduates entered consisted of home and foreign missions, mission schools, hospitals, pastor's assistants, other salaried church workers, Christian Association secretaries, probation officers, charity organization workers, workers at Indian or "negro" schools, workers in city slums or with immigrants, settlement workers, district nurses, and workers in all kinds of civic betterment. The heavy weight placed on teaching, and the spotlight shone on settlement and nursing among social service vocations indicate an emphasis at Wellesley on "Christian" vocations being those that were considered an extension of women's nurturing instincts. Pendleton went on to make explicit the Christian potential within women's traditional spheres of occupation too: "Besides all these there are the teachers and homemakers who do an immense amount of church and philanthropic work in connection with and in addition to their teaching and home cares."[39]

At the same time, Pendleton held the line against vocational education, supporting instead the liberal arts curriculum that Wellesley had embraced

throughout its history as the best means for developing women's minds, whether for Durant's vision of unspecified future work inspired by God or for later faculty's vision of social service. Pendleton argued that the usefulness of the liberal arts lay in convincing students of "the interdependence of all realms of human knowledge, the unity of God's universe." She hoped this broad view of God's design and purposes would serve as "training for citizenship" and that Wellesley graduates would work for "promoting the welfare of their own home towns and the world at large." The payoff of a Wellesley education ultimately consisted in its graduates' contributions to improving the social order through service fields they were uniquely fit to fill.[40]

Conclusion

Thus, Wellesley's high-quality liberal arts education for women had shifted from primarily supporting vertical spirituality to primarily supporting horizontal spirituality. As a result, Wellesley students heard a moral message that made more of their gender when casting a vision for how they could use their education to benefit others. Wellesley of the 1910s retained its founder's emphasis on the liberal arts as preparation for a widening field of service opportunities for women. It differed, however, in forgoing the doctrinal instruction and social environment Durant had considered critical to fostering students' direct relationship with God, which he believed necessary for their own good and a prerequisite to their most effective service. In its place, the new Wellesley articulated a moral purpose tied more closely to its inherited identity as a women's college than its inherited identity as an evangelical college.

The faculty and administration sought to carve out a place of ethical and professional significance for college-educated women by arguing that the combination of rigorous mental training and innate feminine sympathy made college-educated women particularly suited for the new field of social work, and particularly settlement house work on behalf of the poor. By doing so, it opened more opportunities for its graduates in a new context where evangelical beliefs garnered less respect and where more complicated social problems presented themselves. As a by-product of the shift, though, fewer women proved able to afford the education that led to these new opportunities.

Chapter 8

"I Delight in the Truth"
Bryn Mawr College

Though Wellesley had opened in 1875, its first presidential inauguration ceremony awaited the formal inauguration of Caroline Hazard as its fifth president in 1899. This event marked the college's entry into the coterie of institutions accepted by elite Bostonians, a feat made possible by jettisoning its evangelical heritage. In attendance were two other college presidents: Charles William Eliot of Harvard, considered by many to be the nation's premier men's college, and M. Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr, considered by many to be the nation's premier women's college. Eliot delivered the inaugural address and Thomas spoke at the luncheon in honor of Hazard. True to form, Eliot's address emphasized the "experimental" nature of women's higher education—which, at that point, had been in existence at Wellesley for a quarter of a century, and longer at Vassar, coeducational state universities, and Oberlin. He asserted that women's colleges ought not to feel bound to adhere to the curriculum of men's colleges. Women's minds were likely as different from men's as their bodies were, so women's colleges ought to explore what subjects of study best suited women. Thomas was livid. She rebutted Eliot in a chapel talk immediately on her return to Bryn Mawr and then again at the next annual convention of the Middle States Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools. She later published her address, "Should the Higher Education of Women Differ from That of Men?" in *Educational Review*. Thomas contended that men's

and women's minds were for all intents and purposes identical, and she concluded that not only their college training but their employment afterward ought to be as well.[1]

Thomas's mission to prove women's complete equality with men would lead her to articulate the moral aspects of women's higher education in a different manner than the faculty and administration at Wellesley. Yet, this difference notwithstanding, both institutions would ultimately make use of their schools' identities as colleges specifically for women in order to refashion their original, broadly evangelical identity in ways that seemed advantageous in the new religious context of the early twentieth century.

Founding Purpose

One June day in the early 1870s, when plans were already under way for Wellesley and Smith, Barnabas C. Hobbs stood up after the graduation ceremonies at Haverford College and urged that Orthodox Quakers should provide higher education for women that was equivalent to what they had been providing for men at Haverford since 1833. His proposal met with a round of applause and inspired Joseph Taylor to found Bryn Mawr, one of the most academically excellent women's colleges of the late nineteenth century. Taylor's Quaker background informed his plans for the shape of Bryn Mawr.[2]

Quakers such as Hobbs and Taylor believed women and men were equally equipped to serve as ministers, a rare position among Protestant denominations of the time. George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends (or Quakers, as they came to be known), taught that each human being, male or female, rich or poor, possessed a God-given "Inner Light" that pointed toward the truth. Each person could choose to listen to it or ignore it, but its presence qualified all people to testify to the truth. In Quaker religious meetings, women and men spoke as they experienced an inner leading to do so. Most Quakers never spoke in meetings, but those women and men who did feel led to do so often experienced this leading frequently and were recognized by the others as having been called by God to be "ministers." When none of these ministers felt led to speak, the whole group kept silent and listened to the Light within.[3]

In the United States, the Quakers had split into two branches in 1827: the Hicksite Friends and the Orthodox Friends. Both groups shared distinctive Quaker markers such as gender equality in ministry, simple dress, and the use of the once-informal "thee" and "thou" in address to all people. They differed,

however, in other theological matters. Hicksite Quakers did not believe that Jesus was uniquely divine, they did not believe his death and resurrection uniquely mediated between humans and God, and they downplayed the authority of the scriptures and emphasized instead the authority of the Inner Light. As such, they bore similarities with later Protestant modernists. Orthodox Quakers, in contrast, believed Jesus to be the unique God-man, they believed that his death and resurrection atoned for the sins of those who had faith in him, and they believed both the scriptures and the Inner Light were wholly reliable and confirmed one another. As such, they bore similarities with Protestant evangelicals. Both sides believed themselves to be the true representatives of the faith of their founders.

The trustees and professors of Haverford College belonged to a subset of Orthodox Quakers who followed the teachings of Joseph John Gurney. Gurney believed that the scriptures held final authority even greater than the Inner Light, which served to point to and confirm biblical passages. Unlike other Quakers, Gurneyites therefore emphasized a conversion experience rather than gradual growth in understanding led by the Inner Light. They thus kept closer step with the approach to Christian faith of the wider evangelical world. Gurneyites also believed that the Bible's supreme authority made it a worthy object of concerted study, and that Hicksite Quakers had gone astray in large part from a lack of knowledge of the scriptures. Their heightened interest in careful study of the Bible led them to emphasize the value of higher education.[4]

This emphasis on higher education was unusual among Quakers at large. All Quaker ministers were laypeople who maintained a secular vocation as well; none received particular training because they were simply chosen by God for the task. Many Quakers in fact feared that higher learning would actually distract from hearing the Inner Light. Quakers had often been innovators in lower education, however, desiring to supply their children with a "guarded" education free from influences outside of the Society of Friends. Once Quakers did develop an interest in higher education, though, their belief that men and women were equally called to be ministers provided an impetus to educate women as well as men.[5]

Hobbs's call to support women's higher education deeply moved Orthodox Friend Joseph W. Taylor. Taylor went up to Hobbs afterward and "very solemnly and thoughtfully expressed his agreement." Several years later, at an 1877 conference of Orthodox Friends on the subject of education, Taylor proposed to found a Friends' women's college. That same year, he drew up his will to ensure that the vast majority of his estate would go toward endowing such an institution in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, just over a mile

away from Haverford. Thus, the institutions would be independent, but could cooperate when beneficial. During the two subsequent years before his death, Taylor continued to develop the details of the plan in conversation with other interested parties within the Orthodox Quaker community.[6]

According to Taylor's will, he wanted to establish an institution that would equip and motivate women to disseminate Quaker beliefs and values on graduation. In order to do so, the school would provide both Quaker and non-Quaker women with excellent higher education along with training in Orthodox Quaker doctrine, and would foster an environment conducive to its acceptance. "As at Haverford," students had to agree to be educated as Friends and to be "under care and oversight and control of religious, conscientious, highly cultivated and refined teachers." Taylor did not specify what constituted a "religious" faculty member, but he very precisely specified that the religion faculty members should pass on to students should be within the Gurneyite Orthodox Quaker stream: "All having any connection with this Institution shall endeavor to instill into the minds and hearts of the students, the doctrines of the New Testament as accepted by Friends and taught by Fox, Penn and Barclay in earlier days, and by Guillet, Forster, Gurney, Hodgkin and Braithwaite of later time and which I believe to be the same in substance, as taught by early Christians." Much like Durant, Taylor sought to encourage students to embrace the doctrines he believed essential to establishing their personal relationship with God, a necessary prerequisite for their effective service after graduation.[7]

The target student body Taylor specified reveals that he operated under a variant of the evangelical pragmatism that drove the founders of Mount Holyoke, Oberlin, and Wellesley: his ultimate goal in extending higher education to women was to spread the gospel message as widely as possible. In his case, however, he believed this goal would be best accomplished by Quaker women and women of the upper classes, whom, like Catharine Beecher, he believed to be most influential. Still, he maximized Bryn Mawr's impact by explicitly extending the benefits of the college to other women as well. Taylor specified that "in the admission of students, other things being equal, preference is to be given to members of the Society of Friends, but in all cases those should be preferred who are of high moral and religious attainments and good examples and influence and such as are most advanced in education." Furthermore, Taylor directed that the college buildings should be designed "for the comfort, advanced education, and care of young women or girls of the higher and more refined classes of society." At the same time, though, he took care to make the environment friendly to poorer girls as well. Taylor wanted "all dresses of the students to be of simple and unshowy

appearance, both of *material and make*, and to prohibit wearing of *jewelry* of every description." In addition to the direct spiritual benefit to each woman so freed from the compulsion toward display, a further advantage of this requirement would be that "this would discourage unpleasant *distinctions*," thus more easily incorporating less well-off students into the Bryn Mawr community.[8]

The probable work Taylor envisioned for future graduates also reflected his evangelical pragmatism. Taylor declared his "desire that care should be taken to educate young women to fit them to become Teachers of a high order and thus to extend the good influences of the Institution far and wide." Taylor wished many graduates to teach not because he thought only certain types of work were appropriate for women, but rather because he believed teaching to be one of the most practical means for women to disseminate a religious vision to a community that had already conceded that role to them. His statements of the ultimate purpose of a Bryn Mawr–style education confirm his true priorities: Taylor believed "an advanced education, in knowledge of every thing [*sic*] useful in the Creation: but especially a *Religious guarded education*, in accordance with the Doctrines and Principles of Friends" would give the bearer "access to *human hearts* of every grade and gather to Christ our Redeemer!" In other words, all people who received the best possible education combined with the best possible religious instruction and influences would be better witnesses for Christ.[9]

These pragmatic views on graduates' future employment likely contributed to Taylor's ambivalence about whether higher education for women needed to be any different from higher education for men. When he wrote to several leading educators for advice, he declared his intention to establish a college "in which a liberal education may be acquired by young women as good, though not necessarily the same, as is provided to young men in their best colleges." The letters he received back—from President Daniel Coit Gilman at Quaker-founded all-male research university Johns Hopkins, President L. Clark Seelye at all-female Smith College, and Principal Annie E. Johnson at coeducational Bradford Academy—all argued that women's minds needed the same training as men's, a position Taylor presumably then adopted.[10]

In addition to the written record Taylor left of his intentions and the suggestions of those he conversed with about the new school, he also spoke frequently about his desires with the board members he appointed. In a letter dated August 1, 1877, Taylor wrote to the board: "It is my wish that Francis L. King be appointed *President* of your Board. He and myself having frequently conferred together in relation to the objects of this Institution,

he is fully acquainted with my views and desires." Some of Taylor's intentions therefore belonged to the realm of "oral tradition," and may have influenced board members' later interpretations of his wishes in ways that are now lost to history.[11]

Early Interpretations of the Founder's Vision

Taylor's death in January 1880 provoked a crisis for Bryn Mawr similar to the one Durant's death provoked at Wellesley: disagreements fomented as his intentions had to be interpreted and carried out by others. Much as at Wellesley, tensions among the gender, academic, moral, and religious components of his vision would prove critical to the final shape of Bryn Mawr. The difference, of course, was that Bryn Mawr grew out of Taylor's will, so he did not remain to oversee the full realization of his early plans. The plans for Bryn Mawr therefore emerged from a larger and contentious conversation among leading Orthodox Quakers interested in higher education. In May, Taylor's appointed board of trustees met to consider his will. In July, a large portion of the Orthodox Quaker education conference then considered the best shape for Bryn Mawr to take.[12]

Disagreements clustered around the question of the ultimate purpose of the higher education of women, and hence the nature of the curriculum, but most delegates to the conference agreed that the education offered by Bryn Mawr should be of the highest quality. Several women weighed in to argue that the goal of specifically women's higher education should primarily be to train godly mothers competent through their learning to drive back the age's worldliness and skepticism by the way they raised their children. Oppositely, Mary Whitall Thomas, the mother of the school's future feminist president M. Carey Thomas, argued that women needed no specific training for motherhood; mothering was instinctive. What women needed, rather, was training that would enable them to offer better service beyond the household. Some women argued this service would be primarily avocational benevolence by married women. Others argued that the most crying need was to fit unmarried women for useful vocational service. One young Quaker, Elizabeth T. King, daughter of the president of Bryn Mawr's board and close childhood friend of M. Carey Thomas, argued that even married women ought to be able to continue a paid vocation outside the household to the extent that child-care duties permitted. She therefore believed that space ought to be made within a liberal arts curriculum for women to make some initial forays into possible future professional work. One man argued, however,

that women needed and deserved a broad education before the necessarily confining employment of motherhood.

Some delegates emphasized the Quaker character of the future college more than others, but most agreed that the religious element must be central to Bryn Mawr's identity. One significant theme was that higher education for women must not fall victim to the chief peril of higher education for men: the loss of faith among students. Many echoed Taylor's desire that Bryn Mawr graduates be fit to intelligently defend the doctrines of Christianity and the Friends. James Carey Thomas, the father of M. Carey Thomas, argued that Bryn Mawr therefore ought to become a respected "centre" of higher education so as to diffuse its Christian influence most broadly.[13]

There was only one problem. According to James Rhoads, the Bryn Mawr trustee elected as the institution's first president, Bryn Mawr could have predominantly Orthodox Quaker professors or it could have the best professors, but it could not have both. Haverford had taken the best professors among Orthodox Friends and it was still not as good as Harvard or Yale (or as affordable!). Thanks to its endowment, money was less of an issue for Bryn Mawr, but if the school were to employ only Friends, the remaining pool of options meant it would have no hope of being academically excellent enough to become the center of influence Taylor envisioned. Rhoads claimed that Taylor had asserted in private conversation that he wanted Bryn Mawr to be of better academic quality than the best existing women's college, Smith, because its endowment would be larger. Rhoads judged, therefore, that the best way for Bryn Mawr to diffuse a positive Quaker influence was to secure the best professors no matter their religious affiliation and to create a "Friendly" atmosphere in other ways, through Bible and ethics classes and voluntary extracurricular religious meetings.[14]

Quaker educator Henry Hartshorne pushed back. Hartshorne was the former editor of the Orthodox Quaker *Friends Review* and the headmaster of an upper-level Quaker girls' school in New York. He argued that Bryn Mawr would never really be a Friends' college without a "preponderance" of genuine Friends on the faculty. A Friend had recently founded the Johns Hopkins University, but because the goal of that institution was simply to be academically excellent, it had emerged as a purely secular institution. Without a faculty of Friends, Bryn Mawr would become simply a female version of Johns Hopkins and would in no way serve to disseminate Quaker influence. Making Haverford coeducational or making Bryn Mawr a college that ultimately valued religious formation over intellectual genius would better preserve the founder's vision.[15]

Notably, neither party to this argument appealed to the fact that Bryn Mawr was to be a women's college. Both assumed that women, like men, should be better educated so that more people would be prepared to exercise better influence on their surrounding culture. The large amount of spilled nineteenth-century ink opining that woman's "influence" was most powerful when indirect—when it formed the consciences of husbands and sons, rather than when it voted—did not influence their perspectives on women's higher education. Both believed the education of both sexes should be the same: Rhoads wanted to provide women with an education as good as absolutely the best men's university, which, in his opinion, was Johns Hopkins. Hartshorne believed coeducation to be the wave of the future, and were it not for Taylor's parameters, his preferred solution would actually have been to preserve both academic excellence and Quaker religious influence by making Haverford coeducational. The question for these two Quakers was simply whether academic or religious emphases would diffuse Quaker beliefs and values more effectively.[16]

In part owing to the influence of M. Carey Thomas, Rhoads won the argument as to the design of Bryn Mawr. The controlling concern for hiring faculty became their academic excellence—and quite a high level of excellence at that. Unlike most other women's colleges, Bryn Mawr's opening class included graduate fellows and not simply undergraduate students. In fact, Bryn Mawr opened as the only all-female institution to offer the PhD. Its professors, therefore, had to be competent to instruct graduate as well as undergraduate students. Rhoads argued that this approach was the best one to fulfill Taylor's desire that Bryn Mawr train "teachers of a high order." He also saw it as a potential solution to the problem that so few high-quality Quaker professors could be obtained; hopefully, Bryn Mawr's graduate students would become eligible to serve on the institution's faculty when they completed their training.[17]

In the meantime, Rhoads made provision for transmitting explicit Quaker doctrine to students. Taking advantage of Bryn Mawr's proximity to Haverford, he appointed Pliny Earle Chase, Haverford's professor of philosophy and logic, as lecturer in psychology and logic. Chase oversaw a five-credit, required freshman course that encompassed various aspects of philosophy and religion. Trustees saw the course as a freshman equivalent to the traditional senior moral philosophy capstone. Chase included specifically Orthodox Quaker perspectives in his instruction because he believed that "the highest education is religious; the highest religious education is Christian; the highest Christian education is definite, pointed, and, therefore,

denominational." Chase thereby stood against the broader stream of elite Protestant education in insisting that denominational instruction was not narrow and constricting. Rather, he believed it gave students clear enough conceptions of God to relate directly to this unseen Being. Chase supported Quakers working together with other Christians of similar beliefs and encouraged students to do so. His concern was that "generalities, however 'glittering,' are necessarily vague," and that "the broader our charity becomes and the briefer our creed, the greater the danger of accepting a shibboleth for a signet, a profession for a reality." Chase, however, died in 1886, two years after the opening of Bryn Mawr. At this point, religious instruction transferred to more ecumenical—and more modernist—Christians.[18]

Over time, the development of academic study of the Bible in a modernist direction combined with the Quaker emphasis on freedom of conscience to remove from the curriculum all instruction in Christian, much less Quaker, doctrine. In the late 1880s, President Rhoads took over the philosophy portions of the freshman course (leaving the biblical pieces to others). At first, he taught from a Quaker perspective while allowing students to disagree. Finding this approach difficult in a school that had not managed to attract many Quaker students, he soon taught philosophy from a more pluralistic, non-normative stance, raising questions without answering them. Meanwhile, Bryn Mawr's Bible instructors taught Christianity from a historical rather than a normative perspective. By 1902, Bryn Mawr no longer required undergraduate instruction in Christian doctrine. By 1908, it did not offer any.[19]

Still, Rhoads also looked to extracurricular life to exercise a Quaker influence. Again, the Quaker emphasis on freedom of conscience led school trustees and administrators to not require attendance at religious exercises. Instead, the school offered daily religious meetings in the Quaker style and provided students transportation to the Sunday worship service of their choice. Soon, students took over their own religious life, organizing meetings for the discussion of doctrine and ethics and for serving the community. Voluntary religion in many ways flourished on the Bryn Mawr campus throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but owing to the low percentage of Quaker students, the religion was broadly Protestant, and, in fact, often of a liberal modernist hue antithetical to the Orthodox Quakerism of the founder. Like at Wellesley, de-emphasizing the doctrine that nourished a focus on Godward spirituality would lead to greater focus instead on the ethics of social relations.[20]

Thomas's Vision for Bryn Mawr

A major impetus for the academic and religious direction Bryn Mawr took came from feminist Quaker educator M. Carey Thomas. Thomas was the daughter of board member James Carey Thomas and the cousin of another member of the board (Orthodox Friends were a close-knit group). After Rhoads and Chase, she made the third and final Quaker faculty member out of an initial listed faculty of thirteen. Whether she was actually an Orthodox Quaker was considered debatable. Her family credentials were impeccable: Thomas was the daughter of two Orthodox Quaker ministers and the relative of many others. She had grown up within that tightly entwined community. Community members knew full well that Thomas had never experienced a conversion and that her faith tended in a decidedly liberal direction after she had gone off to college at Cornell. Nevertheless, when she wrote to the board in 1883 to apply to be president of the new institution, she implied that she had returned to the fold. In some ways, Thomas was the perfect candidate: a female PhD from a strong Quaker family. The board's hesitancy to grant her the role of president sprang from concern about her orthodoxy, her youth and inexperience—she was only twenty-six years old at the time—and, despite Quaker beliefs about equality, concern about granting a woman such a public post. Yet the board did make her professor of English and dean of the faculty—the one in charge of recruiting and managing other faculty.[21]

The board thereby placed a substantial part of the future of Bryn Mawr in her hands. As some of them feared, Thomas did indeed lead the school in a less robustly Orthodox Quaker direction, but as all of them hoped, she also made it academically outstanding. President Rhoads, himself an Orthodox Quaker, would almost always support her initiatives. When he passed away in 1893, the board narrowly elected Thomas to replace him. Those opposed had been concerned about the loss of the school's Orthodox Quaker identity, so on her election, the board attempted in various ways to strengthen that aspect of Bryn Mawr. They instituted a voluntary lecture course on Quaker doctrine. They also ordered that the heads of residence halls be Quaker women, that more Quaker material be added to the library, and that students be required to attend a church of their choice on Sunday. By 1909, however, Thomas's vision won out and these requirements were dropped.[22]

Central to Thomas's moral vision for Bryn Mawr was her conviction that the chief moral issue confronting modern society was the need to create equal political and professional opportunities for women. For Thomas, this issue trumped all other potential ones, such as the need to restore a right

relationship with God through faith in Christ (as espoused, for example, by the Orthodox Quaker community) or the need to bring justice to the poor (as espoused, for example, by many turn-of-the-century faculty at Wellesley). Thomas publicly contended that a college education enabled women to relate better to God and also that their full participation in the political and professional life of the nation was the best way to bring about other social changes: greater numbers of enlightened citizens working to improve society could only have that effect. But it was the change in women's educational opportunities itself that she considered to be of primary importance, and this conviction influenced the respective places and natures of academic training, religious instruction and activity, and social service activities at Bryn Mawr.[23]

Thomas's drive to demonstrate women's intellectual ability had deep roots. From a young age, she had wanted to go to college as boys did, and she succeeded in gaining admittance to the young coeducational Cornell University, where she graduated with its first class of women in 1877. She then talked her way into the all-male graduate program at Johns Hopkins, but was barred from participating in the seminars and only allowed private tutoring sessions with a willing professor. Soon realizing this setup was providing her with an inferior education, she left to study in Germany at the University of Leipzig. Leipzig, however, would not grant the PhD to a woman, so Thomas transferred once again, this time to the University of Zurich. There, she earned a PhD in philology, the study of language then du jour among leading academics, in 1882. She did it with flair: summa cum laude. Shortly thereafter, she wrote to the board of Bryn Mawr.[24]

Thomas's passion—bordering on obsession—to prove women's intellectual equality to men drove her to make Bryn Mawr not only the academically best women's college but also one of the academically best colleges, period. She successfully urged that Bryn Mawr's curriculum be modeled on that of the secular, all-male Johns Hopkins University and chose her professors based solely on academic prowess rather than religious affiliation. The Johns Hopkins curriculum, considered cutting edge at the time, operated on the "group system," which the institution perceived as combining the best in the traditional classical and modern free-elective college curricula. It required a set of traditional subjects, including the classics and mathematics, and then permitted students to elect upper-level studies in greater depth in two related subjects, such as German and French, biology and chemistry, or history and political science. The curriculum at Bryn Mawr, like Wellesley and Mount Holyoke before it, therefore had no distinctly feminine component.[25]

Thomas argued particularly forcefully against any difference in higher education for men and for women. She wrote the clearest articulation of her educational philosophy in response to Eliot's contention at Wellesley's 1899 inaugural that "it remains to demonstrate what are the most appropriate, pleasing, and profitable studies for women" since "it would be a wonder, indeed, if the intellectual capacities of women were not at least as unlike those of men as their bodily capacities are." Thomas's oft-quoted response answered the question as it pertained to professional education:

> Given two bridge-builders, a man and a woman, given a certain bridge to be built, and given as always the unchangeable laws of mechanics in accordance with which this special bridge and all other bridges must be built, it is simply inconceivable that the preliminary instruction given to the two bridge-builders should differ in quantity, quality, or method of presentation because while the bridge is building one will wear knickerbockers and the other a rainy-day skirt.

Furthermore, Thomas did not believe men's and women's minds to be substantially different, noting that "if they differ, the difference is so slight that teachers of men and women students have never been able to agree as to the nature of the difference." Turning to undergraduate education, Thomas asserted that because women had been successfully educated in the classical men's college curriculum for thirty years, the burden of proof lay on those who claimed that a women's curriculum should be different. The burden was all the heavier because, she claimed, college-educated women had married and borne children at the normal rate and in fact had made better wives, mothers, and teachers than their non-college-educated peers (a false claim regarding rates of marriage, but probably made in good faith, as even Charles William Eliot said the same thing).[26]

Furthermore, Thomas vehemently opposed the inclusion of vocational training in collegiate education for both sexes, but particularly for women. Her opposition flowed from two sources. First, she maintained a deep-seated conviction that, contrary to what Eliot claimed, all subjects did not, in fact, produce the same amount of mental training. The best training came from the broad arts and sciences that made up the traditional curriculum. Second, the most common way in which educators tried to feminize a college curriculum for women was through the introduction of technical studies considered particularly appropriate for women. Thomas reserved particular ire, therefore, for domestic science. Addressing three of its subfields, she dismissed infant psychology as too narrow a field to elect as an undergraduate and equally appropriate for men and women, "chemistry with special

reference to cooking" as "lacking the wider outlook of the more general sciences," and, finally, the delicately phrased "physiology with special reference to motherhood and wifehood" as not likely to be elected by women uncertain whether they would marry. Her humorous follow-up: "Nor is it, in my opinion, desirable that it should be elected. It would certainly lead to much unhappiness in married life if such courses were elected by women and not by the men they marry also."[27]

Thomas's strongest argument against domestic science revealed a class snobbery that accompanied making educational excellence trump all other potential moral concerns. Thomas believed housework to be largely drudgery and presumed that college-educated women would prefer to hire a servant and do something else instead. Many would not marry and the earnings from their career would enable them to afford help. Thomas's class presuppositions came out most clearly in her assumption that many others would marry rich men, thus also solving the problem. Finally, Thomas sided with her childhood friend Elizabeth King: she thought even married women whose husbands could not afford a servant ought to be allowed to spend the time they would have spent keeping house working at a more mentally stimulating job. They would thereby earn enough to hire assistance. She conceded that some college-educated women would nevertheless probably need to keep house, but considered the requisite activities easily mastered by a person with a college education; no specific training was needed. Thomas's logic applied also to caring for small children; she thought the balance of mothers' time was better expended on the more intellectually stimulating activity of shaping the minds of their older children.

Thomas thereby resisted the cultural assumption that domestic activities defined women by relegating nineteenth-century middle-class domestic ideology to the lower classes instead. Whether single or married, educated women—most of whom she assumed would come from the upper classes—ought to hire lower-class women to do household work. Meanwhile, they themselves should enter the public sphere either professionally or through volunteer work. In keeping with this conviction Thomas increasingly sought—successfully—to attract wealthier, more socially prominent women to Bryn Mawr. She did not make any of Durant's attempts to downplay class distinctions among students by equalizing their living arrangements. More money bought a student a nicer room and, over time, the ratio of more expensive to more affordable rooms increased.[28]

Thomas's convictions regarding women's higher education also informed the type of religious instruction she advocated at Bryn Mawr. Her all-consuming drive to achieve women's equality through the highest possible

education shaped her journey toward Protestant modernism and, ultimately, religious agnosticism. In a telling passage worth quoting at length, Thomas recalled:

> I cannot remember the time when I was not sure that studying and going to college were the things above all others which I wished to do. I was always wondering whether it could be really true, as every one [*sic*] thought, that boys were cleverer than girls. . . . I remember often praying about it, and begging God that if it were true that because I was a girl I could not successfully master Greek and go to college and understand things to kill me at once, as I could not bear to live in such an unjust world. When I was a little older I read the Bible entirely thru [*sic*] with passionate eagerness because I had heard it said that it proved that women were inferior to men. *Those were not the days of higher criticism*. I can remember weeping over the account of Adam and Eve because it seemed to me that the curse pronounced on Eve might imperil girls' going to college; and to this day I can never read many parts of the Pauline epistles without feeling again the sinking of the heart with which I used to hurry over the verses referring to women's keeping silence in the churches and asking their husbands at home.[29]

Elsewhere, evangelical-style Christianity had proved a spur toward women's higher education, and it would do likewise within Thomas's own Orthodox Quaker community when she was grown. During her childhood, however, that tradition's literalist reading of scripture associated it in her mind with the repression of women.

The next step in her journey occurred after Thomas successfully gained entrance to Cornell. There, she learned from students reading Thomas Paine about inconsistencies in the Bible that she would later claim "are of no consequence if properly explained to young people by teachers of a reverent spirit." At the time, however, they caused her great emotional turmoil; she was afraid to ask older Christians about them lest their faith be shaken. The one female relative she did get up the courage to ask confirmed Thomas's worst fears by begging that Thomas not read Paine to her lest she indeed lose her faith. Thomas later concluded that the best way to protect college students from similar religious strain was to teach them "the truth, in so far as it may be known at any time to scholars, about the Bible." That truth, as she perceived it, was the historical critical perspective of modernist Christian scholars. That perspective was the one accepted in the highest institutions of learning, the one that explained away the Bible's limitations on women,

and the one that did not require the conversion experience she had long resisted (much to her family's distress).[30]

Thomas therefore ensured that the Bible instruction Bryn Mawr required would be of the modernist variety. The year after the death in 1886 of theologically conservative moral philosopher Pliny Earle Chase, Thomas brought in a modernist lecturer on the Bible, Rendel Harris. In 1890, she hired Quaker George Barton to a full-time professorship teaching Semitic languages and "the study of the Bible from the point of view of higher criticism." Barton, a well-known scholar, held this post until he moved to the University of Pennsylvania in 1922. He actually placed greater explicit emphasis on the religious aspect of life than did the doubting Thomas. For example, he was known to criticize Bryn Mawr's president for her chapel talks advocating an expanded social role for women to the exclusion of other aspects of Christian ethics such as sexual morality. Nevertheless, the two shared basic religious sensibilities. In liberal modernist fashion, Barton believed and taught that Jesus was not divine but rather that he was the greatest ethical teacher who had ever lived because "his ethic was absolute." God was working through the succession of human ethical teachers to establish "a thoroughly ethical human society composed of ethical men and women." Bryn Mawr's religion professor thus typified the modernist shift toward believing that moral living was the end goal of religion and, rather than faith in a divine Christ, also the key to a right relationship with God. Thomas concurred that religion found its ultimate value in helping create a righteous society.[31]

Thomas accordingly encouraged this style of religion not only through her hiring practices but also through her oversight of student voluntary religious life. Despite Thomas's religious doubts, she would support modernist, though not evangelical, religion in the extracurriculum as well as the curriculum. From Bryn Mawr's early years, students chose to meet together for devotional activities within the residence halls. In 1894, students formed the Christian Union, which involved itself in both worship and social service and was open to all students "in sympathy with Christian ideals." Thomas approved of its liberal membership requirements, attendant liberal theology, and orientation toward service. Much to Thomas's irritation, however, in 1903, a group of students split off from the Christian Union and formed the Bryn Mawr League for the Service of Christ because they believed that "there should be at Bryn Mawr an association standing definitely for belief in Christ as God." The League affiliated with the national Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and required members to belong to an "evangelical," which was to say Trinitarian, church. Thomas soon required the

League to sever its ties to the YWCA, and in 1910, possibly due to pressure from Thomas, the League merged back into the Christian Union.[32]

Thomas opposed the League on three grounds. First, she claimed that "the founding of the League had brought about among the students a spirit of dissention and criticism," a spirit she blamed on the more conservative students, whom she claimed called those who disagreed with them "atheists and unbelievers." Second, she feared that, as she had observed at Cornell, when students were forced to formulate a specific creed too soon, they often abandoned the positive aspects of religion altogether. Because Thomas retained no investment in the historic particularities of Protestant belief that evangelicals deemed necessary for a right relationship with God, she did not see what all the fuss was about. She even saw it detracting from religion more broadly defined as reverence for the sacred and service to others. Finally, the existence of two Christian organizations led many students to enroll in too many religious activities, often taking Bible classes under the auspices of both groups to the detriment of their official classes.[33]

Just as Thomas thought students could undertake too much Bible study—if it interfered with their other studies—she also believed they could do too much social service, for the same reason. The Bryn Mawr Settlement Association existed at least from 1892 and involved students in the work of a settlement house in Philadelphia. Despite her progressive politics, as the work became more popular, Thomas prohibited any one Bryn Mawr student from visiting the settlement house any more frequently than once every three weeks. In 1913, students complained that such a limitation was making it impossible to keep up the work well, and the settlement association soon folded.[34]

For Thomas, academics came first. She believed learning and practicing a modernist form of religion could benefit college women—because it held some benefits for everyone—and she believed college women should care about social problems—because everyone should—but if either of these activities should conflict with college studies, college studies should take precedence. Thomas embodied Bryn Mawr's intellectually oriented motto ("I delight in the truth") and valued academic excellence for its own sake. Still, she also valued Bryn Mawr graduates' future contributions to society. Consonant with her faith in academics, she believed attending well to the college curriculum as a whole would best develop the women's greatest potential for future service, not devoting a great deal of time to religious cultivation or service activities in the present.[35]

On campus, Thomas used means that did not detract from studies to promote social reforms relating to areas of life traditionally gendered male, such

as politics, as well as to areas of life traditionally gendered female, such as teaching, or, increasingly, social work. She aligned herself with the progressive movement and advocated associated political reforms such as moderate socialism, women's right to vote, pacifism, and cleaning up government corruption. In the realm of politics, she sought to make Bryn Mawr a model democratic community; in 1891, she and the trustees allowed students to establish a formal mechanism for regulating their own behavior, the Self-Governing Association. This innovation came to Bryn Mawr far earlier than to American higher education at large. In the realm of education, in 1913, Bryn Mawr established (in conjunction with the college's Education Department) the Phebe Anna Thorne Model School where the theories of John Dewey and other progressive educators received practice. As the formal study of sociology and economics gained ground in the twentieth century, in 1915, Bryn Mawr led in the establishment of the country's first college or university graduate program in social work, the Carola Woerishoffer Graduate Department of Social Economy and Social Research. Thomas supported women's contributions in these fields, but did not channel students into them, or even into reform work per se. She conceived of service to society in broad terms; all aspects of public and professional life would be uplifted by women's participation.[36]

Although she clearly supported progressive reforms, Thomas ultimately subordinated religious and social service activities to academic instruction at Bryn Mawr because she believed that the higher education of women was the ultimate good. The essence of religion was righteous living, and righteous living in the modern world meant concern with social evils, but the number one social evil was the subordination of women. Nothing, therefore, could be allowed to interfere with women's elevation, not even religious activities or social service. Henry Fowle Durant and the Orthodox Quaker organizers of Bryn Mawr had sought to provide women an education equal with men to empower them for unspecified future work unto the glory of God. M. Carey Thomas sought to provide women an education equal with men to empower them for unspecified future work unto the glory of womankind, a glory that would bring the parity between women and men that she believed characterized a truly righteous social order.

Conclusion

Twentieth-century Bryn Mawr thus took on a different character than twentieth-century Wellesley, but both schools sought to justify women's

higher education within a new cultural context. Wellesley now articulated a specific type of moral service that college women could render society. In support of this vision, Wellesley made its approach to moral formation more gendered. Along with the intellectual rigor fostered by the curriculum, in campus life, Wellesley administrators and faculty alternately sought to cultivate in students feminine sympathy, or particular appreciation for beauty, or both, in the hope that these traits would give graduates something unique to add to efforts at reforming the social order. For much of its time, Radcliffe had done likewise, as had Evelyn—although in the latter case with the end goal of turning out society wives.

At Bryn Mawr, however, refocusing spirituality on ethical social interactions rather than direct relationship with the divine led to reorienting the institution's identity around the sex that it served, but not to more gendered moral formation. Thomas understood the moral contribution of a Bryn Mawr education to be the creation of a genderless social structure. Thus, Bryn Mawr's identity centered on gender, whereas its education—moral and otherwise—sought to be strictly gender-neutral. Thomas's ideal Bryn Mawr graduate entering the professions would understand her choice differently than an early Wellesley graduate doing the same thing: she would be acting as a woman to intentionally construct a sexless society rather than as a person to spread a Christian witness and example wherever she felt led.

Despite these differences, the approach of both colleges newly involved articulating the moral value of their education in terms of the centrality of educated women—as women—to a godly social order. Simultaneously, these changes led to a shift in priorities that would have put both these colleges financially out of reach of some of their previous students. Wellesley and Bryn Mawr thus both moved further along the spectrum from bottom-up to top-down approaches to social change. The women who could still afford the top-quality education that these institutions provided would likely have imbibed many moral and religious beliefs in common with their brothers attending an elite college such as Princeton or Harvard—beliefs such as Protestant modernism, the importance of social engagement, and that true religious expression on campus must be voluntary rather than required. However, the women's vision of the moral end toward which their education tended would have been distinct. A similar pattern would play out in the nation's leading coeducational universities.

Chapter 9

"Almost without Money and without Price to Every Young Man and Every Young Woman"

The University of Michigan

The state universities that went coeducational in the years surrounding the Civil War faced a different set of identity issues than private men's or women's colleges. Founded with tax dollars to offer low-cost higher education for the whole state, these institutions could not favor a particular religious denomination, or even, as populations diversified, a too narrowly defined Pan-Protestantism. Yet they served a public that generally desired the higher education of their children to reinforce—and certainly not to tear down—common moral and even religious values. The need to articulate the fundamentally moral nature of public higher education increased in the several decades following the Civil War, when traditional collegiate religious practices such as required chapel attendance and a mandatory Christian moral philosophy class gave way at public institutions even more quickly than at private ones. This growing need to justify the morality of public higher education coincided almost exactly with the entrance of women into the state universities. On the one hand, the specter of sexual impropriety that went with coeducation jeopardized these institutions' attempts to maintain a reputation as moral training grounds. On the other hand, the presence of both women and men on campus also provided new opportunities for framing the moral purpose of secular higher education.

The University of Michigan would take maximum advantage of this possibility. Its leaders cast a vision of the nature of the ideal democratic society

as a place where women and men cooperated for the common good—and, accordingly, the university positioned itself as the best possible training ground for citizens of that society. At first, this vision did not spell out separate roles for men and women. Over time, however, through processes more complicated than at single-sex institutions, the changing nature of religion at Michigan would help make both Michigan's moral vision and its moral training increasingly grounded in the sex of the students it served.[1]

Thoroughgoing Coeducation

The entrance of women into the University of Michigan coincided with the beginning of a shift in the institution from a culture of student discipline to a culture of student honor. The average age of an entering freshman was nineteen and a half, and the new president James Angell, who served from the year after the entrance of women in 1870 to his retirement in 1909, believed a university ought to treat such students as young adults rather than as wards of the state. Consequently, shortly after his arrival, he made voluntary several of the "aids to moral and religious culture" that had been required under his predecessors. In 1872, he ended required chapel and mandatory attendance at Sunday worship services. Also in the early 1870s, he made most senior-year courses elective, thereby abolishing the requirement that all students take a class in evidences for Christianity. Shortly thereafter, he made all classes elective for seniors and opened up limited electives for sophomores and juniors. Consonant with this approach to treating students like adults, the university made no regulations governing the interaction between the sexes. No dormitories existed, so women and men both found their room and board in the town, sometimes in the same "mixed boarding houses." In addition to interacting in the same classes, women and men also interacted freely in the same student-run extracurricular groups.[2]

Angell's "hands-off" approach did not signal a lack of concern for students' moral and religious development. Rather, he thought giving students freedom was the best means to secure that end at a public institution educating students of comparatively advanced age. Angell therefore took responsibility for shepherding this new, voluntary type of campus religious life. He believed that the university ought to act in some sense in loco parentis because most Michigan parents rightly desired that their children be helped rather than harmed in their faith while at college. In the manner of old-time college presidents, Angell preached every morning in chapel and delivered the baccalaureate sermon each year. He knew many of the students personally

and commanded their respect and admiration. During the course of the 1870s, he succeeded in gradually decreasing the rowdiness and hazing common during that era through exhortations directed at the students' sense of honor. Angell's faith in students to take significant responsibility for their own religious and moral development led him to speak highly of the voluntary—and coeducational—Student Christian Association as an essential force for good on the campus. Finally, he consciously hired faculty that he believed would be a good moral influence on students: more than 70 percent were church members and still more were active in a church. Angell then encouraged this faculty to exhort students toward "non-sectarian" Christianity, by which he meant—much like Charles William Eliot—a more liberal form of Protestantism that emphasized following the ethics of Jesus more than transmitting doctrine concerning the nature of faith toward God. Unlike Eliot, however, Angell himself was a pious evangelical church member. His personal piety and his public advocacy for the importance of "non-sectarian" religious influences at state universities gave the University of Michigan a reputation for piety that Harvard lacked.[3]

In the early 1870s, many educators still feared that educating women and men together without careful oversight and regulations was a recipe for moral disaster; Angell instead believed it was a recipe for moral uplift. He was right, at least at Michigan. A typical college prank during the early 1870s was for a group of students to wreak destruction in the chapel. The first time (male) students attempted this after the admission of women, he urged the women to speak up, and when they did, the melee ceased. No sexual scandal resulted from coeducation; rather, the entrance of women raised the level of student conduct. Women also strengthened the Student Christian Association. A far greater percentage of entering women students than entering men students were church members, so the admission of women brought a new vitality to voluntary student religious life as well as to student comportment and perhaps added an incentive for male attendance at church and religious events.[4]

Angell's support for coeducation derived from his theory of the purpose of higher education, namely, that it should equip as many people as possible, male and female, rich and poor, for maximal service in various fields. Angell's educational philosophy was a broader version of the one that had animated early Mount Holyoke and Oberlin—the service he had in mind was not specifically related to advancing the proclamation of the evangelical gospel message, but would more broadly advance God's kingdom on earth through the excellence of graduates in varied types of useful work. Coeducation enabled this good because it provided women immediate access to the

higher education that would best equip them for service; otherwise, they would have to wait many decades until sufficient funds could be raised to duplicate all the current facilities for men.

Angell assumed that most graduates would go into fields traditional for their sex, but he did not prescribe any particular path of service for them. He shared the open-ended educational philosophy of Durant at Wellesley: throwing open higher education to as many people as possible was just and would serve God, who would then direct the results. Although he highlighted women's service in their more traditional caregiving fields of teaching, medicine, missions, and homemaking, he explicitly approved of departures from that path as well.[5]

Angell asserted that Michigan flourished because it provided education in keeping with divine principles of justice. The institution appealed to American students because it was truly "democratic," making provision for women and the poor. In Angell's words, "the power of public sentiment . . . naturally looks with favor on universities that offer the best type of higher education in arts, in technology, and in the professions, almost *without money and without price* to every young man and every young woman." By referencing the prophet Isaiah's description of the fountain of life freely offered to all those who trust in God, Angell portrayed the low-cost state university as a divine agent. It partnered with the church by providing a God-mandated good, namely, the equipping of all classes of people with the training needed to actualize their potential for service. Angell did not believe that a state university could officially urge students to embrace the evangelical gospel, which he believed would make them rightly related to God and hence also most useful to others, but he did believe it could commend to students the chapel services and voluntary organizations in which they might hear that gospel. God could be trusted to use this and other means to direct newly trained graduates to serve according to divine purposes.[6]

Angell's friend, Michigan professor Henry Frieze, articulated even more clearly how the state university aided Christianity. Frieze had presided over the university's transition to coeducation as acting president from 1869 to 1871. At Michigan's 1887 semicentennial, Frieze took up the task of explaining *The Relations of the State University to Religion*, and used Michigan's coeducational commitment to argue for its religiosity. Frieze argued syllogistically that state universities were not antithetical to religion because: (1) affordable access for all qualifying citizens to the privileges of all levels of education was necessary for the welfare of the people, (2) only the state could reasonably provide such affordable access, and (3) therefore, because state education was an intrinsic good, it could not be in conflict with Christianity. In fact,

Frieze, like Angell, saw the state university as being in service to both church and state: God distributed talent irrespective of station and the state had need of the best talents of all its citizens.[7]

Over the course of the 1870s and 1880s, women freely entered into the life of the university. Rather than forming separate extracurricular activities, female students integrated the Student Christian Association, the Lecture Association, student publications, and class organizations. In fact, the percentage of women who served as class officers was comparable to men. As an overall proportion of students at the university, they rose from 9 percent in 1875 to 16 percent in 1888. The Literature Department felt their presence even more strongly: beginning in the late 1870s, women constituted around a third of its graduates (they would be 47 percent of its graduates by 1900). The university as a whole grew during this time period as well. Enrollment more than doubled, resident faculty tripled, the budget quadrupled, and the course offerings increased by a factor of seven.[8]

During this expansion, the role of religion in the university increasingly shifted into the extracurricular sphere. In 1883, the course in evidences for Christianity that had been voluntary during the preceding decade was eliminated. Then, toward the end of the 1880s, local churches began establishing student guilds, expanding the range of options for student voluntary religious expression. As the religious aspect of university education privatized, the way women and men interacted within extracurricular life would increasingly color their experience of religion on campus.[9]

Integration in the Classroom, Segregation Without

At the opening of the 1890s, women's and men's extracurricular lives at the University of Michigan rapidly began to separate into different spheres. The impetus came from both sexes. On the male side, the power of fraternities rose sharply in the late 1880s and early 1890s. In 1879, the university had seven fraternities, with few members and no residential houses. By 1895, it had twenty-one, and several sported large residential houses located just on the outskirts of campus. Meanwhile, in 1890 there were only five sororities, with a total of fifty-five members. By the 1890s, fraternities were powerful enough to control most extracurricular campus activities. As a result, women were increasingly shut out of leadership in student groups and in class government. Additionally in the 1890s, intercollegiate athletics skyrocketed in popularity, thus creating a major arena of student culture from which women were excluded from the field of play.[10]

For their part, women students were developing a new sense of community. In 1890, Alice Freeman Palmer, a Michigan alumna, spoke about the need for women to organize as a group. At that time, college education had been widely available to women for about twenty years. Many college alumnae such as Palmer and her successors at Wellesley were beginning to articulate a belief in a special world mission for college-educated women. They were forming settlement houses and women's clubs dedicated to bettering social conditions. Many undergraduate women embraced this vision and welcomed the opportunity to take charge of their own extracurricular life. They viewed it as training for an increased role in the public life of the nation. The women students of the university thus responded promptly, forming the Michigan Women's League. This group welcomed college women, both sorority members and "independents," to active membership and faculty wives to associate membership. Its executive board consisted of an equal number of sorority women and "independent" women, with the presidency alternating between the two groups. An advisory board of selected faculty wives also supported the League. The League's purpose was "the promotion of social life among the college women, the furtherance of the aims of the University as far as possible, and the encouragement of a philanthropic work in the hospitals."[11]

During this decade, the university administration reinforced sex separatism in student extracurricular life through its maintenance of campus space. The rise of athletic culture created new demands of propriety associated with greater interest in gym use. In 1894, the university received the gift of Waterman Gymnasium, which was intended by the donor for the use of both male and female students. Use by both sexes required stipulating separate sets of hours. The administration proudly showed its support for the importance of the physical aspect of education by setting hours for the men that did not conflict with classes. The women had no such luck, however, and it shortly became apparent that they needed a facility of their own. In 1896, a second donor came forth with one, Barbour Gymnasium. This building provided not only gymnastic facilities but also a central meeting place on campus for women. It contained parlors to host male guests, cooking facilities, bathing facilities, and an auditorium. The Women's League met there, along with all-female dances and women's sports leagues.[12]

The university administration further contributed to social separatism between women and men by appointing a dean of women the same year that Barbour Gymnasium opened. Notably, no such supervisory figure for men's social lives was appointed. However, as might be expected from a president as supportive of women as Angell, his motivations for creating the position

of dean of women were not limited to the considerations of propriety that animated many other university presidents. Angell wanted to appoint a woman to the senior faculty, but met with resistance among the regents and the rest of the faculty; a dean of women was a position the latter groups would agree to. Also, a dean would give women students—increasingly peripheral to mainstream campus life by the 1890s—a focal point for their own separate campus life. Finally, as women reached nearly 50 percent of the Literary Department—at Michigan and elsewhere—it proved too easy to imagine interaction between the sexes running amok; the special shame surrounding pregnancy out of wedlock, should it occur, meant that public opinion increasingly demanded women's supervision to ensure that it did not. These factors did not apply to men, so Angell did not appoint a concurrent dean of men. The appointment of a dean of women had the effect of reasserting central control over the character formation of women students, while character formation for men students continued to be outsourced to campus organizations, particularly religious ones. Women and men would thus experience both different types and different degrees of moral direction.[13]

The Dean of Women and Moral Formation

Michigan's first dean of women, Dr. Eliza Mosher (1896–1902), embraced both horizontal and vertical components of spirituality and consequently used her position to communicate a sex-specific but still very broad moral vision to her charges. Her selection reflected Angell's high opinion of women's abilities. Mosher had graduated from the University of Michigan's medical school in 1875, in the early days of the admission of women. She had subsequently gone into private practice in Brooklyn, and private practice remained her first love throughout her life. Still, Mosher conceived of her medical profession as a service vocation and gave up private practice at various times to answer what she perceived to be the call of duty. Such calls included brief teaching stints at Vassar and Wellesley and a period as superintendent of a women's prison in Massachusetts. She considered the opportunity to set an appropriate precedent for a dean of women at her alma mater to be such a call as well.[14]

The administration's conception of Mosher's position combined care for the physical aspects of women's education with oversight of their social lives. As a dean who held an MD, Mosher received the rank of professor. Her appointment was in the Literature Department, however, because the dean of the Medical School would not approve a woman professor. Mosher's official duties included not only supervising the physical development of women

students, particularly through managing their gymnasium requirements, but also lecturing on hygiene to students of both sexes. The administration also hoped that she would serve as a "moral and intellectual guide . . . advisor and friend" for the women of the university, who, unlike male students, had no other same-sex authority figures to turn to; Michigan's senior faculty was entirely male. In 1897, Angell's eventual successor, Harry Hutchins, serving as acting president that year, further clarified the expectations for Mosher's position. She would conduct "a general physical examination of each new woman student. . . . to decide as to the advisability and safety of gym work for each student. [The exam] also brings her into close relation with the women of the University in the early months of their student life, thus giving opportunity for personal counsel at a time when it is often much needed."[15]

Yet none of these descriptions of her position explicitly mandated that Mosher serve as a warden of women, and Mosher herself instead conceived of her supervisory role as a cross between a minister and an educator. Unlike most deans of women, she did not manage the living arrangements of women students. Rather, she focused on giving students a specific moral vision of usefulness in the world and providing the training they would need to accomplish that purpose. Her convictions arose from a combination of her gender ideals, her medical training, and her religious beliefs; accordingly, she sought to provide students with a holistic education that would teach them how to care for their minds, bodies, and spirits in such a way as to attain the most profitable service after graduation.[16]

Mosher's moral vision for her students was deeply connected with her beliefs about their nature as women. Mosher advocated and embodied an understanding of femininity that was simultaneously gender-essentialist and expansive. In a speech to the New York Unitarian Women's Club (Mosher herself was an Orthodox Quaker turned broad-minded Protestant), she outlined her understanding of the purpose of woman as: "1. To co-operate with man in home building, in the bearing, rearing, and education of offspring. 2. To add to the sum total of the world's good, by impersonating and upholding purity, gentleness, unselfishness, devotion to duty, and high intellectual Christian culture." Elsewhere she elaborated on what she perceived to be specifically female about these purposes. Mosher asserted that "woman's high mission on earth is to minister to others [and] is demonstrated by the place which nature gives by the cradle side," and that "the maternal sense, that which makes [women] want to help the weak . . . is the quality that distinguishes them from men. The eternal feminine is the maternal."[17]

Mosher's vision of the range of women's service opportunities fitting the "eternal feminine" was quite broad. She believed a good marriage to be the highest earthly happiness (and she believed herself to be dispassionate on this point, as a single woman!). Nevertheless, she also believed that economic and social circumstances pushed many women into the professions—even that many women could expand their range of usefulness by maintaining a profession while also serving as a wife and mother. Professions she thought fitting to the essence of womanhood included teaching, medicine, writing, and music, among others. These professions brought forth "spiritual or intellectual children." A second group of professions fit women because they "render service to homes": physical education; house, school, and street sanitation; charity work; the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA); Girls' Clubs; and various types of work for children such as kindergartens, orphan asylums, and houses for the crippled. Yet Mosher also defended women's work in a profession that would be hard-pressed to fit into these categories, namely business, as "cultivating a judicial mind" in women and providing them valuable experience managing money that would be of use for running a household. Ultimately, in fact, Mosher believed that "men and women have equal abilities for all sorts of work, and should have equal opportunities in all fields," provided women who work outside the home "retain the maternal sense."[18]

In keeping with her convictions, as dean of women, Mosher sought to exercise a maternal influence on men as well, and Angell offered her the opportunity to lecture to both sexes because it befit her standing as a doctor. She gave an opening talk to both men and women about basic self-care, including pursuing consistent exercise, eating at regular hours, and not letting study overrun sleep. She also taught an hour of home economics, the only time this course was offered at the University of Michigan before World War I, as administrators generally considered technical courses of that ilk to be the province of Michigan State, the state's land grant institution. Strikingly, Mosher maintained that not only women but also men who wished to marry should take the course. On the female side, she believed that too many young wives lost health from the stress of learning an entirely new occupation while adjusting to marriage and caring for young children. Also, competence in homemaking would earn the respect of a husband, who was expected to be competent in his own line of work. On the male side, familiarity with what went into managing a household would give them greater respect for the work of their wives and would aid in the realization of a companionate marriage.[19]

Finally, Mosher gave talks to both sexes on sex hygiene, arguing forcefully for a single sexual standard. Some boys, she argued, "don't know that 'sowing wild oats'—by which is meant gambling, cheating, drinking, and worst of all consorting with impure girls and women—will unfit them to receive the love of pure women, when they shall become men. Such a life will surely make a man the source of foul diseases, which will poison not alone the girl he marries but the children he may have." Mosher elaborated that "among other influences, the segregation of men in large groups as in the standing army in other countries, and in our colleges and club residences in this country, in the absence of an established standard of morals relating to the sanctity of the male person, is a menace to the advancement of civilization." She praised both the male Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and the female Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) for advocating that single sexual standard.[20]

Her praise of these Christian organizations coincided with her conviction that healthy interactions between men and women sprang from healthy minds and spirits as well as healthy bodies. The number one way to facilitate a useful, healthy life among young people would therefore be to help them own Christianity for themselves. Mosher concluded a talk on fostering healthy development in adolescents in the same manner as she would conclude her own life reminiscences, with a discussion of Christian conversion. She argued: "Advanced adolescence is the age of hope and forward stretching, the time when it is easiest to find God, and to consecrate to Him the talents, the time, the life of the individual. Parents, teachers, all who long for the best that can come to the young and to our nation, should so live and work, as to crown the years of adolescence by establishing a conscious relationship between the soul and God because this is the most important of all the gifts which life can bestow."[21]

This conviction sprang from Mosher's own experience. When she was a girl attending school at the Orthodox Quaker academy Oakwood Seminary, she found within herself a desire to dedicate her life to God, but was uncertain about her worth and ability for such a task. A teacher then confided in her the words of the famous revival hymn: "Just as I am without one plea, But that Thy blood was shed for me, O Lamb of God, I come." She later recalled: "I joyfully tell you tonight that I then dedicated myself and my life to my Heavenly Father. . . . To that guidance I owe whatever I may have accomplished." Thus, Mosher in turn sought to help students establish a relationship with God, who would lead each student personally, and consequently, she did not herself define students' future work too specifically.[22]

Though she spoke of evangelical conversion, the specifics of Mosher's Christian beliefs are difficult to pin down. She grew up a member of the Orthodox Quakers, a denomination whose core beliefs fit well within broader evangelicalism. After graduating from medical school at the University of Michigan and starting private practice in Brooklyn, New York, she transferred her membership from the Society of Orthodox Friends to Plymouth Church, Brooklyn, one of the most famous liberal Protestant churches in the United States. (Its first pastor was Henry Ward Beecher, brother of Catharine, who was succeeded in 1887 by another famous liberal pastor, Lyman Abbott.) The only record she left of her reasons for the change, however, was an indication "that she found in the latter a larger field for whatever she might contribute of service and help." Mosher's religious path thus combined vertical and horizontal aspects of spirituality, with a shift toward emphasizing the latter.[23]

It is clear that the dean believed women and men would both find true satisfaction only in orienting their lives toward serving God, and that there was considerable overlap in the service each sex could offer God. Still, her strong concern for living out interpersonal righteousness meant that Mosher did emphasize concrete applications of the call to service, and in keeping with Victorian culture, she did believe each sex had its own broad service orientation. Women served the home and the weak, and men served God in other areas, although Mosher did not make those areas explicit. The sexes worked best together when both were well-educated, used to socializing together, and able to appreciate the work of the other.

All these convictions led Mosher to show her support for Michigan's coeducational Student Christian Association (SCA)—strained by that time by debate over whether it would be more effective for women and men to meet in separate Christian organizations—by serving as one of its trustees. Shortly after Mosher's retirement from the deanship, though, the SCA finally split into a separate YMCA and YWCA in reflection of the growing sex separation of Michigan's extracurricular life. Simultaneously, both groups, now serving under an SCA that merely acted as an umbrella organization, increasingly adopted responsibility for certain student services; these included coordinating freshman orientation, student housing, and student employment. This fact made the all-female YWCA a natural partner for the next dean.[24]

In 1902, Myra Jordan succeeded Mosher as dean of women and would remain in the position through the end of World War I. Jordan concerned herself primarily with students' earthly well-being, and as a result, she would move women's moral formation even further in the sex-specific direction of

helping educated women find their unique place on the campus and in wider society. Jordan's job description differed from Mosher's: because of the growing sex segregation of campus life, the new dean's responsibilities would be purely administrative rather than professorial. Jordan's charge was also limited to women. Nevertheless, Jordan held an expansive conception of students' earthly well-being and attended to a wide spectrum of women's needs.[25]

To facilitate students' moral and social development, Jordan took up both women's physical provisions and their vocational preparation. She embraced the warden role that Mosher had rejected, and worked swiftly to bring female students' living arrangements under administrative control. For the first time, women students were required to contact the dean before securing housing, as it was (also for the first time) deemed inappropriate for men and women students to live in the same boardinghouses. Like Mosher, Dean Jordan's moral vision for the university's women drew on gender essentialist ideals to expand women's future opportunities. Jordan believed women had a unique moral contribution to make to society, and advocated technical courses to prepare women for the more feminized service vocations such as nursing. She also hoped doing so would lift women's vocational gaze beyond teaching and thus give them broader influence in the world. Jordan also hinted, like Dean Coes at Radcliffe, that women better embodied the social ideals of the time than did men. Jordan noted that "self-government, always a Michigan tradition, but sometimes only a form" had been realized, in fact, in undergraduate women's residences; the devotion of the residents had "done much to make the dormitories centres [*sic*] of real democracy." After graduation, then, women in professions oriented toward serving the public good could lead the country to greater social morality by the power of example.[26]

The campus YWCA's growing emphasis on horizontal expressions of spirituality meant it maintained a similar focus on fostering this type of service and a similar commitment to providing for the needs of the university's women. Jordan therefore sought to bring it into closer orbit to the dean's activities. She served on the board of the SCA as well as on the Advisory Committee for the campus YWCA, positions that required her to belong to a Trinitarian Protestant church in basic sympathy with the Christian beliefs of the organizations. As Jordan progressed toward the second decade of her term, she sought to coordinate all aspects of university women's lives under the auspices of the dean's office. Jordan envisioned the Michigan League, an organization of university women (under her direction), as "a clearing house for all the activities of women, social, athletic, philanthropic, and religious." In keeping with their national policy, YWCAs and YMCAs (both also known

as the "Y"), in contrast, generally sought to make the Y the clearing house, such that students associated provision of their needs with the love of Christ. For Jordan, then, the bonds of womanhood trumped the bonds of faith, but the dean welcomed the Christian organization as an essential component of student life, if not necessarily the most important one.

The YWCA, for its part, proved amenable to cooperating with the League. Together they sought to meet students' physical and economic needs by jointly running a housing service and employment bureau for women students. The Y also supplemented other provisions for women. Both it and the League provided an opportunity for women to socialize and govern themselves, as well as to reach out to others in service. In the YWCA-run Newberry Hall, women found another much-needed meeting space. Finally, the YWCA made some unique contributions to student life. First and foremost, it provided women with worship opportunities. On the more concrete end of the spectrum, the first women's dormitory on Michigan's campus, built in 1915, was actually a gift to the YWCA, which in turn presented it as a gift to the university. These sorts of tangible cooperation between the religious and secular women's groups at Michigan reinforced for female students the message advocated by both groups: service vocations were a particularly suitable and virtuous use for a woman's college education.[27]

Male Administrators and Moral Formation

The university's men did not experience the same harmony of voices regarding a moral vision for their education. No position dedicated to providing moral direction to men's campus activities would arrive until the appointment of a dean of students (really, a dean of men) in the early 1920s. Angell's egalitarian convictions and belief that students ought to be treated as adults had made him wary of continuing to fund a position dedicated to the oversight of women; he concluded, however, that with increasing numbers of women students, the public demanded it. The public did not demand a dean for men, though, so Angell did not hire one.[28]

The YMCA would adopt some of a dean's functions at a purely voluntary level by taking responsibility for certain services for men students, but the university administration would not work with the men's organization as closely as it did with the women's. The administration eventually recognized the dean-like role of the YMCA in a small official way: at least by 1914, the university was paying the YMCA to run the student employment bureau. Little other official cooperation occurred, but President Angell did

lend rhetorical support to the efforts of the YMCA to encourage Christian conviction and moral action in the university's male students.[29]

Unlike the women's deans, Angell did not articulate a sex-specific moral charge for his hearers; he did, however, advocate the Christian faith and life in terms calculated to appeal specifically to men. Angell's rhetoric seemed to focus more on men simply because they were statistically less likely to be involved in a church or voluntary religious group. In various speeches and articles on religion in higher education, Angell noted women's better behavior and higher church membership numbers. He therefore did what he could to bolster the number of male students committed to Christianity.[30]

Angell's efforts reinforced the muscular Christianity propagated by the YMCA. With the rise of sex-separated campus life around 1890, the president began addressing male students more frequently on the "manliness" of Christianity. Angell had first delivered his talk "The Manliness of the Christian Life" to students in 1875. He revived it again in 1890, and then repeated it often thereafter. Drawing on his own conversion experience, Angell told students that though they might fear that the submission and self-denial called for by Christianity was somehow unmanly, in reality, controlling the passions was the ultimate in manliness: "The manliest thing in the world is a strong man living with the docility of a child before his Heavenly Father." The great men of the faith were clearly not men of "weak, irresolute, effeminate character"—especially Christ himself. Angell went on: "But it is manly not only to recognize law, it is also manly to exercise the affection, the love of a Son to a living Father. . . . The noblest man is he of the largest heart." Thus, he blended older nineteenth-century ideals of manhood focused on character and self-restraint with newer Progressive Era ideals focused on virility and power. At least before the separate YMCA came into being in 1895, Angell presumably addressed a mixed audience. He seemed to target the men in the audience out of a conviction, shared with Patton at Princeton, that men faced more cultural challenges to accepting Christianity because of the perceived conflict between male gender norms and religiosity. Unlike Patton, however, Angell did not appeal to men's pride in their special social roles to bring them to faith, while the YMCA, at Michigan and elsewhere, would emphasize the particular service that Christian men could offer the country.[31]

Angell used the same technique he used with students when trying to convince those outside the university to support the role of religion inside it. In his 1890 defense of "Religious Life in Our State Universities," Angell contended that the student religious spirit of the current era was "less monastic

and introversive" and "more healthy and aggressive." He asserted that "no doubt pious platitudes, cant, mere appeals to denominational zeal, go for little with them. But straight-forward, earnest, manly words; . . . the application of the principles of the gospel to social problems; appeals for hard but noble and Christlike work for the poor and the ignorant,—all these the students of to-day . . . appreciate and welcome and respond to. . . ." As was his wont, Angell's words could apply to female as well as male students, but they still contained strong overtones of the theology of muscular Christianity, which sought to win more men for the churches by emphasizing action in the service of Christ over religious reflection. In this manner, Angell sought to convince conservative religious critics that religion continued to play a vital role in Michigan students' lives and also to convince secular critics that faith was central to the education of powerful modern men.[32]

When President Angell resigned in 1909 at age eighty, the regents replaced him with a man of very similar convictions regarding the moral formation of college students: Dean Harry Hutchins of the law school. Like Angell, Hutchins supported the education of men and women, rich and poor together at the University of Michigan. Though Angell was an evangelical and Hutchins a modernist, the new president used logic similar to that of M. Carey Thomas to envision the end goal of Christian ethics as a (relatively) sexless society. Thus, Hutchins also did not attempt to direct the moral formation of men and women toward developing fitness for sex-specific types of service to the community. Like with Angell, however, he was led by the need for a state university to serve a broad constituency to use a light touch regarding ethical instruction—bound up with religion—and outsource much of it to the extracurriculum. With Myra Jordan still in place as dean of women, students continued to hear the most explicit moral messages from within a now strongly sex-segregated extracurriculum.[33]

Despite this extracurricular segregation, Hutchins continued to advocate women's full entry into traditionally male professions. He did not believe women ought to confine themselves to certain feminized professions, such as teaching or social service, but rather that they ought to enter any profession they desired, provided they were willing to take on the attendant responsibilities. Hutchins did believe, however, that if a woman chose to marry, she would find in the home "duties and responsibilities that cannot properly be delegated" in a different way than a man who married. Still, he resisted adding any courses such as domestic economy that were specifically directed toward women's work.[34]

From Hutchins's perspective, a college education bequeathed the same moral responsibility to both sexes: "voluntary and conscientious public ser-

vice of some sort." Men and women who worked outside the home and women whose primary occupation was homemaker could all, through careful schedule management, make the time to "help in some way in the ever-present work of improving public conditions and uplifting humanity." Except for those who entered public service as a profession, they should be "public spirited enough and patriotic enough" to do so without remuneration. Hutchins believed the public rightly expected this service of all people who had received higher education from a state-sponsored institution. The only way in which Hutchins saw female graduates as having a different set of moral obligations from male graduates was practical rather than ideological: they ought to contribute to the civic education of other women in preparation for women likely receiving the vote.[35]

Like Angell, Hutchins believed religious formation to be the best way to instill these moral imperatives in students of both sexes. Specifically, Hutchins thought that national progress depended on the implementation of liberal Christian ideals. The spirit of scientific efficiency that pervaded the age brought incredible progress but risked turning people into cogs in a machine and miring the nation in a banal materialism. "How much of the unrest and how many of the difficulties that now perplex and threaten would vanish," Hutchins argued, "if the daily life of the people generally were modeled after the precepts of the Master." The university administration therefore cooperated with student voluntary religious organizations to try to bring about, on campus and in the world, a society structured on the principles of "the Master." Not only did the dean of women maintain close relations with the YWCA, but Hutchins also publicly pronounced that the university looked favorably on the activities of the campus denominational guilds, the YWCA, and the YMCA, and did what it could to encourage them. It was under Hutchins that the administration paid the YMCA for its services in offering students an employment bureau, thus granting a measure of official sanction to its campus role and muscular Christian message.[36]

Nevertheless, without a dean of men, the incorporation of the men's religious group into campus life turned out less harmoniously. Whereas the dean of women worked with both the religious body for women (the YWCA) and the social body for women (the Women's League) to provide a range of services for women students, for many years, it fell to the YMCA alone to provide most of the basic services for men students. These included keeping a list of housing options, running an employment bureau, and publishing the student handbook. Male students did not have a unifying nonreligious organization equivalent to the League until the founding of the Michigan Union in 1903. The Union sought to become the center of male

campus life, where fraternity men and independents, and male students of all convictions and interests could gather for shared social activity. Meanwhile, national YMCA policy encouraged Y chapters to make their headquarters into a center for clean fun for all men students in order to increase the appeal of the organization's Christian message. Both the YMCA and the Union represented moral ideals for male campus life. Without a dean to join them, however, they ended up in competition when, in the 1910s, both sought to build new headquarters that would serve as a center for men's social life and for needed services for them.[37]

At the end of the decade, the impulse toward more efficient administrative oversight of student life led to the establishment of a "dean of students," really a dean of men. The dean of students took over the general management of men's campus life. While the dean appropriated most services for men students, the Michigan Union—considered more representative than the YMCA—took over most of the remaining general social functions from the latter organization, which reverted to a strictly religious association. Consolidation of administrative functions also led the dean of women's office to more fully appropriate the care of housing and employment, functions previously shared with the YWCA; the women's association too then became more strictly religious.[38]

Thus, for most of the early twentieth century, Michigan women's social, religious, and administrative groups worked together to create a harmonious impression of the ideal educated woman: she took responsibility for governing herself, worked closely with other women, and extended herself in service to the community, particularly in service fields deemed suitable to women. Michigan men, in contrast, experienced a cacophony of moral voices—administrators, the YMCA, fraternities, sports teams, the Union—all vying for their allegiance. Male students thus imbibed a broad ideal of service but did not hear a coherent message about a specific channel in which they could best serve as men.

Conclusion

Both Presidents Angell and Hutchins drew on the coeducational nature of the University of Michigan to bolster its moral reputation even as it reduced traditional aids to religion such as chapel and courses in Christian doctrine. Though Angell was evangelical and Hutchins modernist, both believed that a state university had greater responsibility to state than to church. Hence, both focused Michigan's ethical identity on its service to the public.

Doing so in a new environment of competing coeducational and single-sex institutions led to articulating Michigan's moral contribution in terms of the sex of the students it served: the institution sought to articulate how it prepared graduates for social roles within civic life more than it sought to articulate how it prepared individuals to relate to God. They cast Michigan as the ideal nursery for citizens of a vibrant democracy where men and women would cooperate together for the common good.

These administrators thought Michigan would do so by providing both sexes the opportunity to learn side by side in an environment they considered to be Christian, broadly defined. Thus, both sexes would be prepared for any type of useful work and would be accustomed to working together for the common good. In other words, neither president made much differentiation by sex when articulating the nature of the ideal Michigan graduate. President Angell belonged to the stream of evangelicalism that believed an individual rightly related to God would receive personal divine direction on how to serve the community; such a person did not need specific instructions from educators. Although Hutchins possessed a more modernist theological perspective, he—much like M. Carey Thomas—envisioned the ultimate fruit of religion to be a righteous society where members of both sexes served according to their individual capacities. Educating the sexes together would provide the state with the greatest possible number of well-trained, public-minded citizens rather than providing two distinct types of citizens, male and female.

Still, a gendered component to the moral vision that was communicated to students crept in over time because Angell and Hutchins outsourced a significant amount of students' moral formation. Though the two presidents had different religious beliefs, both agreed that a state university could not provide detailed religious training in an official capacity. Thus, both relied heavily on student voluntary religious organizations, especially the SCA, and later the YMCA and YWCA. The presidents hoped these organizations would supply the religious and moral training they believed would incline graduates to use their education for good. In keeping with national trends, these organizations would increasingly communicate sex-specific visions for how men and women, respectively, could best serve the nation.

The rise of sex segregation in student extracurricular life and the appointment of a dean of women furthered the degree to which male and female undergraduates heard different moral messages. Unlike Angell and Hutchins, the religious outlook of Deans Mosher and Jordan led them to believe that women had a special role to play in society, one tied to their sex and often expressed in service vocations. The deans cooperated closely with the SCA/

YWCA and the Women's League to communicate their moral vision through both religious and secular means. Male students too heard messages that tied their sex to how they could best serve society. These messages likewise came from both religious and secular extracurricular voices—most notably the YMCA, fraternities and clubs, and the Michigan Union. But no administrative structure comparable to that of the dean of women unified these voices. Consequently, outside the classroom and pronouncements by the president, female students heard a pretty clear message about the purpose of their education as women. Male students heard a greater cacophony of voices and observed that the administration appeared to give them freer rein to make individual choices about how to use their education. Despite Angell and Hutchins's intentions, then, women heard that their education fit them for a sex-specific subset of roles in society, whereas men heard that their education fit them for all public professions. Still, the complicated dynamics of a public university meant that, overall, the gendered moral messages Michigan students heard were more capacious than at private institutions.

Chapter 10

"Even an Atheist Does Not Desire His Boy to Be Trained a Materialist"

The University of California

The University of California opened as an all-male institution in the fall of 1869—in keeping with the practice of its avowed model, the University of Michigan. Without ceremony, however, the next year it began welcoming women as well as men students, thus continuing to keep pace with Michigan, which had begun admitting women in January 1870. Also as at Michigan, the University of California took no responsibility for regulating interactions between the sexes on campus. Both women and men students found their own room and board and directed their own extracurricular activities.[1]

Yet California also differed from Michigan. For one, it found itself in greater need of defending its fundamental moral orientation. The University of Michigan president James Angell's obvious piety blunted concerns that youth sent off to that university would grow to adulthood in the godless environment feared to result from the officially neutral stance of state universities toward religious denominations. The University of California, however, had no such leader and opened with far fewer religious elements than still existed at Michigan: at Michigan, chapel was voluntary; at California, it did not exist. One early critic, assuming a traditional male undergraduate population, condensed public concern when he remarked of the University of California: "Even an atheist does not desire his boy to be trained a materialist."[2]

Like administrators at Michigan, those at California would look to the sex of the students they served to articulate the university's moral purpose to the public. But unlike at Michigan, California's administrators would cast a vision not of the full participation of men and women together in all fields of useful work, but of a society that flourished because men and women concentrated in different areas. In part, this outlook derived from a second difference between the institutions: California was a land grant institution, given federal funds to supply at least some technical education directly related to graduates' probable future employment. Accordingly, the West Coast university marketed itself as an institution ideally designed to prepare at first men and later also women for their respective future roles. Student extracurricular religious life followed lines of development similar to Michigan, so it only served to reinforce the university leadership's vision. The result was that moral formation of both women and men at California took on even more distinctive, sex-specific hues than at Michigan.

Men's Morality Matters Most

A few years after the entrance of female students to the University of California in 1870, faculty member (and future president of the university) Martin Kellogg recalled that the regents had admitted women because the regents were "practical and just men." They had not acted out of any particular theory about the best nature of women's higher education or the proper relation between the sexes. Rather, much as at Michigan, they had realized that state funds were limited and no institution offering women a comparable education would be built in the foreseeable future. Women, too, were citizens of California and ought to be welcomed by the institution dedicated to offering the state's populace the highest possible education, free of charge. Eight women took the regents up on their offer the first year; they constituted 9 percent of the total enrollment. A decade later, 25 percent of the 241 undergraduates were women. By 1893–1894, women constituted almost a third of the university's 751 college students.[3]

Despite the fact that both universities opened to women at the same time out of a basic commitment to democracy, the University of California did not follow the University of Michigan in making this fact a defining feature of how it presented its moral service to the community. Rather, leaders at California would articulate the moral value of its education as if its students were all still men. California's land grant status made debates over technical versus liberal arts training consume much more public attention than any

possible hesitations about educating the sexes together. Consequently, the young university experienced practically no turbulence regarding coeducation. California did experience controversies over the role of religion at the university, and they hit harder than at Michigan. California administrators in the 1870s did not use women's presence to bolster arguments on behalf of the university's morality, as Angell had done. Although women could make use of the school for their own purposes—preparation for teaching—in the mind of both administrators and the public, the university existed primarily to train men for their accepted roles in society.

How best to accomplish this training was the question that led to the early religious controversy at the institution. The University of California had grown out of the evangelical College of California (founded in 1855), yet ended up as the most formally secular institution of higher education in the United States. The College of California, founded by New School Presbyterians, had been a traditional male liberal arts college that struggled to maintain enough students. It had therefore offered to join its resources to the state's Agriculture, Mining, and Mechanical Arts College (founded in 1866, but existing only on paper) in order to make a genuine state university capable of receiving federal Morrill Act funds. The hybrid institution would offer both liberal arts and technical training, thus serving men of all classes. The university would also continue to offer the same level of religious instruction and practice because the College of California believed it already provided a "non-sectarian" religious education appropriate for a public institution. After all, a similar approach dominated institutions such as the University of Michigan. But the presence of an ex-Mexican Catholic population made California more religiously pluralistic than Michigan; for this and other political reasons, the men of the College of California had much less say in the shape of the university than they had planned.[4]

The regents quieted religious objections for several years by selecting the university's first president, Henry Durant (1870–1872)—no relation to Wellesley's founder—from the faculty of the old College of California. The university continued to reserve religious exercises only for ceremonial occasions such as commencements, but seniors took a required mental and moral philosophy course from Durant, and he used traditional evangelical Protestant texts. Durant was also acceptable to those who resisted explicit religious influence in the university: he had little power and he identified the interests of the church with the interests of the university. Durant believed the university, like the church, endowed students with a love of the good and that it directed their pursuits beyond an immediate search for wealth and power, a corrective that assumed the career aspirations of male students.[5]

Religion-related turmoil returned, however, after Durant resigned on account of advancing age and the regents replaced him with the educational reformer Daniel Coit Gilman (1872–1875), future president of Johns Hopkins University. Gilman took religion seriously (he had contemplated entering the ministry) and believed it compatible with state-funded higher education. Gilman was a devoted admirer of Horace Bushnell, who had encouraged him to go to California. Like the famous Protestant liberal, Gilman believed the essence of religion to be the spirit of "truth and charity," an attitude toward human interactions. Doctrines specifying the exact nature of God were less important, provided they fostered this spirit. Indeed, Gilman claimed that no specific doctrine about God could be promulgated by an instrument of a state sworn to uphold freedom of religion, but the university could welcome voluntary worship of the sort liberal Protestants considered nonsectarian: a gathering of teachers and students "to acknowledge their dependence on Divine wisdom, to chant the Psalms of David, and to join in the prayer which the Master taught his disciples." Gilman even hoped a donor would erect a chapel on campus to house such a gathering. Neither the chapel nor the voluntary worship service ever materialized. Gilman also endorsed a type of voluntary religious life advocated by none other than Princeton's James McCosh: he hoped religious bodies would establish student residence halls within which they could offer religious activities and instruction. This form of religious life never manifested either.[6]

Although Gilman's personal religious commitments were more liberal than Angell's, the policies Gilman advocated at California did not differ substantially from those put forth by the evangelical president of Michigan. Nevertheless, the circumstances of the founding of the University of California placed its approach to religion under greater suspicion. Gilman and the university came under heated attack after the school graduated its first college class of twelve men in 1873. A conservative Presbyterian complained in an editorial that during the long ceremonies, "the name of God was not spoken; no prayer was offered; nor any reference made in any of the young men's speeches to moral or religious ideas."[7]

Unlike Angell at Michigan, Gilman did not draw on the university's coeducational status to bolster its religious reputation; he did not argue that California's women would raise the moral tone of the university or that they swelled the ranks of student churchgoers. Although women constituted 10 percent of university students, the twelve members of the first graduating class were all male: Gilman called them "the twelve apostles." Apparently, the critique of these graduates' speeches was accurate, but the other

criticisms of the ceremony were not. Gilman simply rebutted them and restated his commitment to fostering students' character development and the university's openness to the involvement of religious denominations in housing and instructing students.[8]

It became even clearer that Gilman defaulted to thinking of undergraduates as male when he fought for the moral significance of the university's liberal arts curriculum. Not only did he not draw on the institution's coeducational status to do so, but instead he defended the curriculum's value in terms of its ability to equip students for a type of service to the state limited to men. Gilman had to defend the university's curriculum because throughout the 1870s, segments of California's manual laboring population pressured the university to focus on training for the practical arts rather than on the liberal arts, which they believed useful only to the rich. They complained that the people's university had been co-opted to serve the elite and that the Morrill Act funds intended for agricultural and mechanical training had been stolen to train rich professionals.[9]

Gilman countered that the liberal arts helped make men of all classes into the type of enlightened men who would wield cultural and political power well. He wanted to build a first-rate university dedicated to instruction in all possible fields of useful knowledge, including but not limited to innovations in agriculture and mechanics. Gilman did believe the university ought to train the state's leaders: he argued that studying the humanities, the lessons of past human societies, was necessary because "the young men who are to go out from this University are to be the law-makers, the guides of public education, the men of influence and capital, the administrative authorities, the journalists, the orators, the formers of public opinion." Yet, extending his circle to include those with whom the farmers and workers were most concerned, Gilman added that education in the humanities mattered for other occupations as well because "whether merchants, manufacturers, farmers, or miners, they are quite as likely as lawyers, and much more likely than physicians and clergymen, to be called to the councils of legislation, and to pronounce opinions there on difficult questions pertaining to human society, law, finance, property, education, crime, pauperism, and the policy of the national, State, and local governments." Thus, Gilman contended that the liberal arts mattered because they trained those who shaped society in the public sphere: the leaders of government, business, or media, or those who influenced the decisions of lawmakers. In this manner, Gilman sought to unite rich and poor men in support of the university by emphasizing what they had in common as men. As men, they wielded the power as voters,

technical experts, or leaders to mold the destiny of the young state. A university education would enable them to take on this sex-specific moral responsibility equipped with the wisdom of the ages.[10]

In 1874, the university succeeded in convincing the legislature that it was not abusing the Morrill funds, but Gilman wearied of having to fight for his vision rather than having free rein to implement it. He resigned in 1875. The future of the university remained precarious until a new state constitution in 1879 granted the institution relative immunity from the wishes of the people as expressed in the legislature. Still, Gilman's exit created continuing fear that insufficient support existed to make university building in California an enterprise worthy of the best talent. The regents took over the practical control of the university and a series of relatively powerless presidents presided over the institution until 1890.[11]

For the first decade after Gilman, these presidents continued to phrase the moral purpose of the university in terms almost exclusively male. John LeConte (1875–1881), president when public concern about the role of technical studies in the university still dominated administrators' time, articulated the value of a university education in terms of its ability to mold good citizens, especially voters. His successor, William Reid (1881–1885), sought unsuccessfully to mold such model citizens by seeking to move student-faculty interaction from a culture of discipline to a culture of honor: he tried to decrease student rowdiness by appealing to students' sense of themselves as "gentlemen." College men, however, found him condescending and rebelled. Both of these attempts to justify the usefulness of university education to a watching public focused on the current or future behavior of only male students: the women of the state of California did not receive the vote until 1911, and the women of the University of California did not participate in the violent rushes and pranks that often garnered the university bad press.[12]

Incorporating Women

As the number of women students grew, however, so did presidential theorizing about their connection to the university's mission. President Horace Davis (1888–1890) was one of the first administrators to use women students to improve the school's public image. He praised them for their positive moral influence on the university community and argued that their presence indicated the institution's civic commitment: an overwhelming majority of female university graduates went on to serve as teachers in the

California school system. (This also constituted an argument for the value of the liberal arts at the institution.)[13]

Perhaps Davis thought outside the previous male box when articulating the institution's moral values because his religious commitments renewed the need to defend the university against charges of godlessness. At issue was his Unitarian faith and that of a prominent board member. When a local Unitarian minister endorsed the novel *Robert Elsmere*, which advocated abandoning traditional evangelical faith, conservative Protestants led by a local Presbyterian pastor attacked what they perceived to be a Unitarian takeover of the university. The controversy died down with Davis's resignation (for various reasons, including an inability to relocate to Berkeley) and his replacement by Martin Kellogg (1890–1899), professor of Latin and Greek and the only faculty member from the evangelical College of California other than Durant to have also become a faculty member of the University of California. It was Kellogg who would seek to integrate women more thoroughly into the university, both in his theory and in concrete practice.[14]

During most of the time of "the powerless presidents," women students did not constitute a vocal presence on campus. More women than men lived with their families rather than boarding locally. Parents were more unwilling to send daughters away to school than sons; additionally, local boardinghouses were at first more willing to accept the known quantity of the college man than the unknown quantity of the college woman. Thus, women's relatively small numbers, family responsibilities, and commute prevented most of them from taking an active role in campus social life, particularly as compared to the women of Michigan. Additional deterrents more common at other universities also contributed to this situation: student life was organized around class rivalries and athletic competitions in which women could not participate, and fraternities sprang up more quickly than sororities, offering more men than women social opportunities and housing near campus. Consequently, women's leadership in life beyond the classroom remained limited: sometimes a woman served as a vice president or member on a dance or commencement committee. By the start of Martin Kellogg's presidency, however, women students had come to constitute almost a third of the undergraduate population and therefore a presence with which the administration would increasingly have to reckon.[15]

Throughout the 1890s, President Kellogg considered California's women students much more explicitly in his formulations of the moral purposes of a state university than had his predecessors. Though from a religious background that emphasized vertical spirituality, Kellogg agreed that the ethical value of

a state institution lay in cultivating good citizens. Kellogg also embraced bottom-up social change, which is to say that he believed the university best served the state by maximizing the talents of a cross section of citizens rather than focusing on the most powerful ones. Students beyond the traditional collegiate population fit more easily into this model: manual laborers fit because Kellogg did not limit graduates' positive influence on society to their service in leadership positions, and women fit because he also did not limit their influence to involvement with government. Thus, unlike Gilman, Kellogg argued for the value of the university's curriculum to California's commoners in a way that applied equally to women.[16]

Kellogg's approach to women students' future service reflects his personal balance between horizontal and vertical moral emphases. He assumed that male and female graduates would generally serve the state in different capacities, but more often left those decisions to individual conscience rather than actively seeking to channel students in those directions. He spoke of the value of training both women and men to be good citizens of the state, and sometimes he articulated what constituted a good citizen in terms that could apply to either sex: high character, intelligence, power for good, and orientation toward public service. At other times, he thought of men and women as two very different types of citizens; the former could serve the state through participation in government and "useful places in the leading industries and occupations," while the latter could diffuse "sweetness and light" at home. He did acknowledge, however, that some women would go on to be wage earners in other fields.[17]

As president of a secular university, Kellogg spoke primarily in terms of the morally formative power of the curriculum rather than of student religious activities, even voluntary ones. Kellogg believed that the university produced graduates who would "constitute a great saving and steadying force" in society through "its wide and thorough course of study," "its ample facilities for original investigation," and "its well-earned reputation abroad as a center of the best culture." Kellogg was not certain whether the likely different future work of men and women meant that they would benefit from slight differences in the curriculum; men already dominated the more technical fields and women constituted around two-thirds of the students in literary fields. He was confident, however, that coeducation sufficed to train both sexes well and inexpensively. The combination of required courses and free electives in all the university's undergraduate programs meant that women and men would both gain the wide culture and original mental power needed to succeed at their respective future work.[18]

When Kellogg did consider moral formation outside the curriculum, he still thought in terms of what both sexes experienced in common. As an ordained Congregational minister, Kellogg believed in the ethical power of Christianity and supported student Christian organizations. In 1878, he lectured to the early coeducational student voluntary religious society, the Bible Students' Association, on the necessity of divine law. In the early 1890s, he argued before the men's voluntary religious society, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), that true Christianity produced wide human sympathy rather than narrow-mindedness, a type of spirituality equally applicable to women. Accordingly, he also spoke to the women's Christian society, the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA).[19] Kellogg believed that student social life could help develop students' character, and he likewise applied his reasoning equally to both sexes. Kellogg argued for less faculty monitoring of student behavior and more student monitoring of their own behavior. He did not argue that women needed more supervision than men, but rather cleverly leveraged the pride of both sexes against one another in an attempt to induce both female and male students to govern themselves in a more adult manner:

> The young man is not supposed to grow wise always as fast as the young woman; she is of age at eighteen, he at twenty-one. . . . So most of our fair undergraduates are already of age, with the legal status and inevitable responsibility of mature life. Is this an age to have one's head turned with social frivolities? And the young men . . . are as old as the college sisterhood; and I could not affront them more than by pronouncing them less wise. What room for boyish follies, for nonsense and idleness and waste of time, for darker misconduct, in the opening manhood of these picked men of the schools? *Noblesse oblige*.[20]

Women and men students might be prone to different weaknesses—frivolity versus rowdiness, for example—but the cure was the same: appealing to their honor as young adults.

Kellogg's desire to foster a culture of greater student responsibility—under wise administrative guidance—came to full flower under the next president, Benjamin Ide Wheeler. Wheeler believed that one of the most important goals of higher education was for students "to be trained in estimating the moral values." And Wheeler had the gravitas needed to implement his beliefs. Kellogg had broken the curse of the university's short-lived presidencies, and during his tenure, the regents gave up many of their powers to the president so as to make the post attractive to a worthy successor. Wheeler

was just such a successor, a university president on par with those at the helm of Michigan, Harvard, Cornell, and, of course, Johns Hopkins. As a former Cornell philology professor trained at Brown and Heidelberg, Wheeler made California into a university of national stature.[21]

Wheeler believed that a college education ought to shape the character of the two sexes in different ways. California's modernist president in effect argued that a state university combined the strengths of a modernist women's college and a modernist men's college: it consciously directed its women students into female areas of service and its male students into male areas of service. Wheeler agreed with those who claimed that education automatically made women more womanly and men manlier, but he added an additional normative component to this descriptive argument. Women, he claimed, also ought to consciously direct their college experience along more womanly lines. Regarding women's extracurricular life, Wheeler told them: "This college is yours just as much as it is the men's. You are not here to imitate men, but to be yourselves. . . . You are not like men and you must recognize the fact." Therefore, he asserted, women should not try to make their "fraternities" (sororities) exactly like men's. Likewise, they should also put the same curriculum to different use. They should not pursue the same careers as men; in fact, they should not even make teacher preparation their primary ambition. Rather, women students should use their education "for the preparation of marriage and motherhood." In this way, women were to be "the great conservative and establishing influence in society," the ones who brought to the world "beauty and order."[22]

Men, in contrast, were to prepare themselves "to take risks and to pursue the irregular and the extraordinary," to "drive at the shifting goals of the day." A college education should enable men to fulfill this unique call without becoming boors. They should learn to be athletic without becoming averse to music, art, and literature. Simultaneously, they should learn to be "refined" without becoming "effeminate." The new president therefore worked to bring pranks and violent rushes (competitions between the classes) under control. He had a magic touch with male students that enabled him to do so within the first few years of his presidency. Students heeded his call to place university spirit ahead of class spirit, and even formally "buried" the class rushes in a ceremony on March 20, 1905. Likewise, shortly after his arrival in 1899, Wheeler sought to develop men's responsible self-sufficiency by turning discipline cases over to male representatives of the senior class for recommendation before taking any action.[23]

Wheeler saw both the campus YMCA and the campus YWCA as partners in the respective moral formation of men and women. He expressed

distress at the spirit of indifference toward religion that could pervade campus, and urged students to attend to their religious well-being because religion, broadly understood, was "the first and foremost concern of the individual's life as he stands before God." At a state university, Wheeler believed this goal best accomplished by voluntary religious organizations. In his talks to the student body at the beginning of each academic year, Wheeler therefore called attention to the campus's Christian organizations, such as the YMCA, the YWCA, and the (Catholic) Newman Hall.[24]

Wheeler also sought to use official administrative channels to facilitate the character development he wanted to see in men and women students. On the whole, Wheeler supported most initiatives on behalf of women students because he believed they ought to keep a separate college culture from the men in preparation for what he believed to be their unique moral contribution to society. He sought financial donations for dormitories and clubhouses for women because he believed that women's unique purpose in society made them by nature more social than men. Therefore, it was more painful for them to be relegated to an isolated boardinghouse. Wheeler also approved a gym just for women, Hearst Hall, donated in 1901 by California's first female regent, Phoebe Apperson Hearst, mother of the newspaper magnate William Randolph Hearst. As was the case at Michigan, the women had social facilities in their gym that the men did not have in theirs, and the building thereby served as a base of operations for the campus's female students.[25]

Strikingly, though, like Kellogg, Wheeler did not believe propriety demanded that the administration supervise women more heavily than men. Women and men were to be separate—but equal. Wheeler too wanted both women and men to grow up and take more responsibility for themselves. The president urged male students to take a job to help put themselves through college "because a man's got to know definitely that responsibility once in a while comes full upon his shoulders before he really is a man." But he likewise criticized having "all sorts of artificial devices thrown about [young women] to take care of them and protect them, when, after all, they are coming to an age when it is far better for them to look out for themselves."[26]

In an unusual move, therefore, Wheeler created not one, but two new offices to oversee undergraduate life: the dean of women and also the dean of the lower division. The dean of the lower division, or the adviser as he was sometimes called, was essentially a dean of men. That he was not so called reveals how even in Wheeler's administration, as in those of the presidents before him, male students continued to form the paradigm within which administrators thought. The traditional pattern of college life indicated to Wheeler that underclassmen needed oversight during their transition to the

relative freedom of college life. Female students, however, constituted a deviation away from traditional college patterns and a new administrator would be needed to oversee the needs of all of them, not just underclassmen.

The obvious tensions in this approach to the university's women are best summarized by a pair of reflections on Wheeler's presidency. The young, independent-minded first dean of women, Lucy Sprague, expressed appreciation that Wheeler "believed in women." Yet Robert Sibley, alumni secretary for twenty-five years, thought that Wheeler had only one significant presidential shortcoming and that it was "his somewhat deep antipathy to the fact that so many girls were on the Berkeley campus."[27]

The Dean of Women and Female Moral Formation

Before Wheeler instituted an official dean of women in 1906, a local model for the position was already emerging. In 1898, the year before the start of Wheeler's presidency, the recently appointed regent Phoebe Hearst offered to pay the salary for a half-time physician for women; this physician would subsequently take on many of the functions of a dean of women. The woman in question was Dr. Mary Ritter, childless wife of California's zoology professor William Ritter. Since 1891, Mary Ritter had been offering a free examination to all women who wished to use the gymnasium. When she began paid part-time work at the university, she added the service of office hours for the women students. Because she was the only female authority figure on campus, many women sought her out not only for medical consultation but also for general advice. This combination of doctor and dean functions mirrored the University of Michigan's first female administrator quite strikingly.[28]

Unlike the deans at Michigan, though, for the most part, Ritter did not articulate a specific moral vision for women. Like Mosher, her medical training influenced her moral priorities. Unlike Mosher, she mostly limited the articulation of those priorities to the areas most clearly related to her training: health and sanitary physical provisions. Because much of Ritter's work on behalf of women students was only semiofficial, it was necessarily more piecemeal and directed toward meeting such pressing lower-order necessities. She could, however, have tied those types of provisions with higher-order social and spiritual provisions through cooperation with the campus YWCA, which interested itself in helping women find adequate housing. Yet Ritter, highly active in the San Francisco YWCA, declined to do so, likely because she was not acting as an official university administrator.

Ritter did seek to pass on a few key moral principles to students herself, but those were gender neutral. For example, Ritter argued for sexual abstinence before marriage, but out of personal concern for women more than abstract concern for propriety. She was most adamant, for example, about the need for a single sexual standard for both men and women. At the San Francisco YWCA, Ritter headed work against sex trafficking. When a pregnant girl from the town sought her out, Ritter arranged a marriage between her and the offending college boy, with the result that the boy forfeited the opportunity to complete his education. On the whole, Ritter believed that students generally wanted to behave morally and tended to fail more from weakness than stubbornness. Likewise, she believed that women had a duty to care for their bodies and their homes, but she was not preaching a gospel her students did not already believe. Ritter offered lectures, soon required for freshmen, on personal and home sanitation because several women students asked her to do so. Apart from insisting that all women should keep a good house, however, Ritter did not argue for any particular future path for women. She seemed simply to believe that it was only fair that the university should offer women technical instruction in their likely areas of future service, just as it did for men. She later recalled with pride that many women told her years later that this class had been the most useful one they had taken at the university.[29]

Ritter's greatest advocacy on behalf of the university's women came in the area of a lower-order need: housing. Again, her actions sprang not so much from worries about propriety as from the fact that many women sought her advice on how to live healthily on a tight budget. Ritter therefore made the first sanitation inspections of student boardinghouses by a university official. Her inspections led to the prohibition of mixed boardinghouses ("the mere fact of inadequate bathing facilities made this desirable"), but even more notably to a plan for cheap communal living among female students. In 1900, Phoebe Hearst paid for Ritter to tour eastern colleges to find ideas for how best to house the women. Settling on Smith's cottage plan, she returned to California and helped establish the "Club House Loan Fund." This fund issued loans to students to purchase a house for cooperative living; when the loans were repaid, the money was lent out to start still more houses. These houses significantly raised the quality of life for a growing proportion of undergraduate women. Ritter later recalled: "My husband is not given to words of laudation, but once when I was ill and feeling very much a failure, he said, 'If you had never done anything but initiate that Club House Loan Fund plan, your life would have been worth living.' "[30]

Finally, Ritter showed concern for the women's higher-order social needs as well as their physical well-being. She helped hatch the Prytanean, an organization consisting of the leaders of the female sororities and extracurricular groups. This organization, along with the Associated Women Students of the University and the YWCA, catalyzed women students acting on their own behalf to develop a richer social community among themselves. It first met in Ritter's home.[31]

Ritter had good working relations with President Wheeler in every way but one: he refused to release money to make her position permanent. Citing financial duress, Ritter retired from her position as physician for university women in 1904. Wheeler believed that the men's physician could take over her work, and shifted his attention to appointing a permanent dean of women.[32] Wheeler's first appointee, Lucy Sprague, had begun work in 1905–1906 as assistant to the first dean of the lower division, George C. Edwards. The next academic year, 1906–1907, Wheeler appointed Sprague dean of women.

Like many of the other deans of women, Lucy Sprague conceived of her position primarily as advocate for women students, and she gratefully noted that Wheeler supported her in this approach. Perhaps his support sprang from the fact that—much like Dean Jordan at Michigan—Sprague's focus on facilitating students' earthly flourishing would lead her to carve out a sex-specific moral role for educated women. Sprague recalled: "Many faculty members thought it was probably desirable to have someone supervise the mixed boarding houses and keep down scandals on campus. But she must be sedate, elderly, and motherly. In a faculty debate on the subject many wished her to be called Warden of Women! Yet it was just because I was young and unstereotyped that President Wheeler wished me. . . . He had faith that if I were given a free hand, I might modify the opposition of these faculty members." To the horror of many faculty members, Sprague, a recent Radcliffe graduate, believed she could only have genuine influence with the women students if she held a real faculty post, as did the men's dean. Wheeler obliged, appointing her assistant professor in the English Department. Her youth and earnestness—and concern only with areas of college life applying to women—eventually won most of them over.[33]

Sprague worked for a fuller life for the university's women, from lower- to higher-order needs. She conducted an inspection of women's housing options, researched and conducted sessions on "sex hygiene" for women, and also sought to enrich their social lives. Because the women lived far apart from one another in disparate boardinghouses, they lacked much of a communal spirit. Sprague therefore hosted groups of women students in her

home for tea. She also encouraged the women to work together to put on a campus artistic production, and her idea blossomed into the first Partheneia, a dramatic and musical enactment of the transition from girlhood to womanhood. The university's women staged it once a year thereafter from 1912 to 1917, and then again for the last time in 1919.[34]

These initiatives also embodied much of the vision Sprague sought to cast for the unique moral contribution that college-educated women could make to society. Namely, she believed women had the responsibility to add beauty to their community. Consequently, at her teas, Sprague read poetry to the girls in imitation of Alice Freeman Palmer, her host while she had studied at Radcliffe. Likewise, she believed that the Partheneia "meant bringing the kindling influence of art and a search for source materials into the sterile academic atmosphere of these girls' college life." It also gave them practice in contributing that beauty to others. Indeed, the Partheneia's capacity to create a separate, feminine culture was what led President Wheeler to give it his approval.[35]

Though Sprague's view of women's potential ethical role was indeed similar to Wheeler's, it was less bound to the home. In addition to adding beauty to the world, Sprague believed—like many other Progressive Era female reformers—that educated women ought to use their more naturally social natures to mend social breaches through the work of social service. She would have fit right in at Wellesley. Perceiving that most college women had enrolled without much thought, Sprague sought to direct women into social service careers through publicizing opportunities in that area. In Sprague's estimation, "the vast majority [of women] were at the university for one of two reasons or both. The first was to have a good time. The second was to get a teacher's certificate in order to earn a livelihood." A full 90 percent of the university's two thousand women fell into the latter category. Sprague found this fact a travesty in large measure because it was bad for children that so many women with no gift or desire for teaching would enter the profession simply because it was one of the few that women knew to be open to them. Sprague complained that "girls from little towns came, had a gay personal time, took the prescribed dull courses for a teacher's certificate and returned home without ever touching the big human problems by which we were surrounded." Consequently, Sprague began taking college women on Saturday trips to learn about the social conditions in San Francisco. Essentially, she offered a not-for-credit course in social service that appealed to women beyond those who signed up for her fellow female faculty member Jessica Peixotto's social science classes. When Sprague went on leave to tour New York City in search of professions other than teaching

into which to direct her charges, she considered only those in the field of social service. When she petitioned the university to add courses of more use to women, she asked not only for domestic economy but also for civics and philanthropy.[36]

Sprague cooperated in an official capacity with the YWCA in achieving both these lower- and higher-order needs, but in her case, the YWCA (or the "Y") initiated this cooperation. Although Sprague could not be an official Y member, in her first month of office, the YWCA had welcomed her as a fellow advocate for women to a conference it held for students. Y leaders saw both themselves and the dean's office as sharing the same goal of serving university women. They first suggested cooperation in the area of housing, since the YWCA had been coordinating women's housing options since the mid-1890s. With the help of the Y's housing lists, Sprague eagerly took up the new work of inspecting women's accommodations. By 1911, the Student Housing Service formed a subsection of the work of the dean of women's office, although some students continued to consult the Y.[37]

Sprague took an ambivalent view of the way in which the voluntary Christian organization provided services for women, possibly in part because, not belonging to a church, she was not eligible for Y membership herself. On the one hand, she reported that in helping women students find needed jobs, "as in all things, I have found the Young Women's Christian Association a competent help." On the other hand, she more often criticized the organization for amateurish methods. Sprague valued excellence in meeting the needs that she clearly perceived more than she valued religious intangibles. When investigating social service careers for women, she recalled of her time working with the Salvation Army that "there was great human kindness mingled with the religious fervor of the . . . workers but not the constructive attack on family needs such as I found at [the more secular] Henry Street [Settlement]." Likewise, Sprague complained that although the YWCA had kept a housing list, it had not actually inspected those houses.[38]

Other members of the dean of women's office more similar in outlook to the Y worked more closely with the group. Two assistants in the dean's office started out as active YWCA members while California undergraduates: Mary Blossom Davidson (class of 1906) and Alice Hoyt (class of 1910). Davidson had been impressed with General Secretary Mary Bentley's concern for women's housing and made that her focus when she joined the dean's office in 1911. After graduation, Hoyt went on to serve with the national YWCA and later came back to the University of California to serve in the dean's office and on the advisory board for the university's YWCA chapter. President Wheeler's wife also sat on the board of the student YWCA.[39]

Sprague's successor, Lucy Ward Stebbins, was one of those who worked more closely with the Christian association. Stebbins had been Sprague's classmate at Radcliffe. She served as assistant dean of women under Sprague and then took over as dean in 1912, when Sprague resigned in order to marry. Stebbins joined the board of the student YWCA, and then solicited the help of the Y's general secretary in advising freshman women. The dean's office had set up a system whereby female graduate students advised freshmen on their courses, and then senior women under the supervision of the graduate students followed up socially with the freshmen throughout the year. Stebbins asked the Y secretary to be one of the graduate advisers and to recruit some senior Y women to work under her. This arrangement served both organizations: it increased the number of advisers for freshmen and gave the Y a greater field of influence. Stebbins also spoke often at YWCA meetings.[40]

Although Stebbins's vision of a full life for college women included a stronger religious component, in other ways, it was quite similar to Sprague's. Both women wished to foster a separate women's community that stressed beauty and service, particularly service in ways other than teaching. In this manner, Stebbins's views actually dovetailed well with the Y's growing emphasis on interpersonal spirituality. Stebbins saw the lack of adequate housing for women as an assault on feminine culture: women forced to live in an isolated room in a boardinghouse missed out on the "gracious refinement" that resulted from "well ordered life in a gently directed household." Likewise, Stebbins advocated for more courses geared toward women, particularly in domestic science. She argued that these could lead to a large range of professions suited to women's tastes and aptitudes, especially in various service fields. While acknowledging that most graduates would in fact need to be self-supporting for a time, Stebbins believed that modern women wanted their education to lead not only to employment but also to advancing the general welfare. Stebbins did her part toward reaching this goal by offering a course in social economy.[41]

In one area, however, Stebbins pushed back against the idea that college women had a cultural imperative to raise social morality. Fear of pregnancy of course underlay many male (and some female) administrators' concerns regarding the supervision of female students, and led to burdening women with extra responsibilities for maintaining virtue. As Ritter and Sprague had worked toward a single sexual standard, Stebbins thus worked toward what might be called a single social standard. She disagreed with Wheeler that it was the women of the campus who ought to set the standards for interaction between the sexes. She complained: "When the question is one of social

standard and social restraint the men are sure to shift the responsibility, saying, 'This is the women's province, let them set the pace and we will fall in line.' . . . I am convinced that nothing will be accomplished in raising the social standards of the University until the men and women take up these problems together." Although Stebbins believed that women's education ought to aim at enabling more women to make a female-specific moral contribution to society, she did not believe interaction between the sexes to be an area responsive to reform efforts by only one sex.[42]

Female students at California under both Sprague and Stebbins would thus have received from the dean of women a clear vision of how to use their education for the public good in female-specific service fields. This vision drew on their unique capacities and inclinations as women, and would have fit in well at many leading women's colleges. Particularly under Stebbins, this message gained additional volume through stereo presentation with the YWCA, a fact that also communicated that Protestant religion played an important role in fitting students to be the sorts of women well-prepared for this future work.

The Dean of the Lower Division and Male Moral Formation

Meanwhile, the men who served as dean of the lower division during the early twentieth century—George C. Edwards, Lincoln Hutchinson, Oliver M. Washburn, and T. M. Putnam—conceived of their role as serving the state by maximizing the usefulness of the male citizenry. Specifically, they sought to accomplish this goal by aiding men's transition from the closer supervision of high school to the relative freedom of college. Men's average academic standing was far lower than women's and many male students risked failing early in their college careers. Referencing the Progressive backlash against Social Darwinism, Dean Hutchinson asserted that "a University must adopt one of two views: one of extreme laissez faire, letting the 'fittest' survive; or one which recognizes its responsibility to the community to see that as many as possible of the young people in its care are made fit to survive. For a state university particularly, there can, I believe, be no serious question as to the choice."

Thus, while deans of women cast a vocational vision for their charges, the men's deans instead focused their attention on developing men's ability to chart their own course through the larger sea of options available to them. In this manner, they mirrored Harvard's Eliot in his belief that developing in

men the wise use of freedom best trained them for public influence. President Wheeler actually wished to nurture this ability in both sexes, but communicated to men a wider appropriate range for its use. The nature of California's administrative structure and extracurriculum reinforced this message.[43]

Dean Hutchinson, who set the tone for the men's office, tried several approaches to ease male students' transition to university life, all of which sought to foster their sense of responsibility and independent action. First, he matched incoming students with faculty advisers who not only approved students' course lists but also tried to befriend the twenty or so undergraduates assigned to them in order to help them navigate the challenges of college life for themselves. Many students, though, remained suspicious that the advisers played a disciplinary role. The attempts of the dean's office to work with the men's fraternities were more successful. If fraternity leadership could be convinced that it was in their best interest to oversee a good balance of work and social activity among their freshmen members, then the university would have accomplished two goals: aiding students' transition to university life and increasing their ability to govern themselves. To this end, the dean arranged with fraternity leaders to publish the relative academic standings of the men's fraternities. This move succeeded in unleashing positive peer pressure and did in fact increase both freshman retention and the overall academic standing of the fraternities.[44]

Simultaneously, President Wheeler sought to fortify men's character a second way: though a specific push for men to join the YMCA. Like Angell at Michigan, Wheeler thought that religion was necessary for the best moral formation of men as well as women, and therefore sought to portray Christian work in terms that would appeal to male students: "We need men in the ministry with great big hearts and great big bodies, men of the Phillips Brooks sort. Are not the colleges sending their best men into the law and into business? The ministry ought to get the best men." Wheeler worried that too often the "creative if not pioneer work" he considered men's peculiar province made them neglect "the higher inspirations of religion," rather than fuse them as the liberal Boston pastor had. Wheeler thus spoke at the YMCA's events to welcome new freshmen and even led a senior men's Bible study under Y auspices.[45]

Yet different provisions for campus men than for campus women meant that administrators interacted less overall with the YMCA than with the YWCA. The dean of the lower division could have made the YMCA into an arm of a centralized approach to providing men housing and social opportunities, as the deans of women at both Michigan and California had

done with the YWCA. The men's dean, however, left the YMCA to its own devices for the most part and instead worked closely with fraternities because men students had fewer pressing needs of the sort that a large voluntary organization such as the Y could address. Plenty of extracurricular social opportunities already existed for men. And unlike the women's deans, the men's deans did not have to rely on graduate and undergraduate student advising because advisers for the men could be drawn from the faculty. Thus, YMCA men could not play as central a role in fostering new students' academic success as could YWCA women. Competition among the Greek societies, however, meant that fraternity brothers could.[46]

This benevolent neglect of the YMCA in favor of fraternities gave the men's association more freedom than the YWCA. The dean of the lower division did not begin inspecting men's housing until 1913–1914, almost a decade after the dean of women. Thus, the YMCA remained the primary dispenser of housing assistance to men students throughout most of the early twentieth century. The YMCA gained further strength among campus men from the fact that at California, unlike at Michigan, the Y-run Stiles Hall faced no competition from a movement to establish a student union as a center for male student life until World War I.[47]

Although the YMCA played a fuller and less controversial role on California's campus than on Michigan's, it still did not have the pervasive influence the YWCA gained through alliance with the dean of women. At California, as at Michigan, men students experienced a more fragmented, diverse extracurricular life. The YMCA's voice in favor of muscular Christianity was strong, but by no means dominant. Fraternities, for one, exerted a powerful alternative claim to socialize men in such a way as to prepare them for lives of significance. Unlike the Michigan Union, fraternities did not encompass all California men, but they were nonetheless exceedingly influential—far more so than sororities. Thus, the administration, the Y, and fraternities combined to communicate to male students the broad moral message that they should use their power as educated men to benefit their communities—but the various groups interpreted the charge in different ways such that the specifics were less defined than for women.

Conclusion

The concurrence of the rise of collegiate coeducation with the need to rearticulate the moral purpose of state higher education was pregnant with opportunity. The Progressive impulse among leading educators turned a

spotlight on the question of how a good society should be structured. They sought to turn out graduates equipped and motivated to help create this better world. The moral vision of the presidents of the University of Michigan indicates the possibility this moment had for facilitating the creation of a more egalitarian society, by granting men and women an equal education and casting for them the same vision for how to use it in service to the public. The moral vision of the presidents of the University of California indicates an alternate possibility: greater involvement of both sexes in the public life of the nation, but along separate lines demarcated by their sense of themselves as women and as men.

Campus realities meant that both institutions ultimately facilitated the vision articulated by California's leaders. Over time, these state universities shifted the ethical aspects of their education to an increasingly sex-segregated extracurriculum, and installed deans of women who would cooperate with extracurricular religious groups to stamp women's college experience at both schools with their own unique ethical outlook, one that channeled women into female service professions. Meanwhile, men too heard a sex-specific message that they should use their privileged position as educated men to serve the public across all the professions, but received much more leeway regarding the particulars. As female graduates flocked into service professions during the Progressive Era, their more detailed moral blueprint could simultaneously be more empowering and more limiting.

Part 3

Student Voluntary Religion and Service, 1868–1917

Chapter 11

Serving the College and the Nation
YMCAs and YWCAs on Campus

The histories of Princeton, Evelyn, Harvard, Radcliffe, Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, the University of Michigan, and the University of California suggest that most Gilded Age and Progressive Era administrators of leading men's colleges, coordinate women's colleges, independent women's colleges, and coeducational state universities increasingly grounded student moral formation less in vertical spirituality and more in horizontal spirituality. Moreover, this shift tended to result in channeling male and female students toward different uses for their education. Though the different types of institutions approached this gendered moral formation in different ways, students across these colleges and universities often shared a morally formative experience in common: with the sole exception of Evelyn, at each one of these institutions, large numbers of students belonged to the campus Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) or Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). Catholic and Jewish student organizations, as well as smaller Protestant denominational ones, also began to appear during this time. However, the Pan-Protestant "Ys," as they were known, proved far and away the most popular organizations for undergraduates inclined toward religion and service.[1]

Their popularity sprang in part from the fact that college and university administrations often responded to the changing role of religion in higher education by outsourcing a significant portion of student religious life to the

Ys. Thus, like campus administrations, these national organizations had a voice in influencing students' moral outlook. Still, students themselves shaped the nature of local campus chapters. Indeed, Pan-Protestant student religious associations at most of these institutions amassed a complex history of affiliating and de-affiliating with the national Ys according to local needs and inclinations.

Considering student activities in campus Ys and associated organizations therefore completes our understanding of what moral messages college students heard—and also indicates the extent to which they may have internalized them. Though difficult to determine with precision what students as a whole thought of these moral messages, the available evidence certainly suggests that they influenced student behavior. As the remainder of this chapter shows, for the most part, students' voluntary religious and service activities fell strikingly in line with the desires of administrators. Even in cases where ethically minded students retained a somewhat different set of moral priorities than their institution's leaders—often in part as a result of students' ties to the national Ys—by the start of World War I, local institutional viewpoints had triumphed and these students had largely aligned themselves with their administration's vision.

The Campus Ys

The American YMCA originally arose in the 1850s to serve the young men who responded to the changing commercial economy by moving to the city to seek employment. The conglomeration of people in cities led to anonymity and increased opportunities to indulge in vice while free from prying eyes. Of dominant concern to Protestant reformers were temptations in the areas of alcohol and sex—temptations believed to have particular pull with young men. The YMCA thus targeted this population in an effort to save both it and the city at large through exposure to the gospel and fellowship with other godly men. It did so through providing an alternative space for socialization apart from taverns—a space filled not with wine and women, but rather with evangelistic appeals, Bible studies, lectures of general interest, and reading rooms featuring wholesome material. Reflecting their origins amid a Pan-Protestant mid-nineteenth-century revival, YMCAs were strictly nondenominational, requiring only a "vital experience of faith in one Lord and Savior" for voting membership, combined with a desire for fellowship with other Christians and for moral living.[2]

The YWCA's focus on young workingwomen arose in large part from the YMCA's neglect of them. Although women workers were not as prevalent in cities as men, and reformers did not consider women as prone to vice, workingwomen labored under peculiar difficulties: boardinghouses were less likely to take them in because of the women's desire to do their own cooking and laundering. Workingwomen also labored under one unique moral threat: the "white slave traffic." Without moral support—and affordable housing—women workers making low wages might succumb to the temptations of prostitution. From their earliest days in the 1860s, YWCAs therefore provided not only socialization spaces patterned after the YMCA but also boardinghouses. In other respects, however, the YWCA mirrored the YMCA quite closely.[3]

Although the Ys originally served self-supporting young men and women in urban areas, both soon expanded to serve college students as well—similarly away from home for the first time during a morally formative period in their lives. To ensure a dominant role on campus for Protestant religion, both these organizations sought to make themselves indispensable to college life by offering services such as freshman orientation and housing and employment bureaus, none of which were as yet provided by the university administration. To a large extent, they succeeded: at state universities, 20 percent of men and 50 percent of women belonged to the YMCA and YWCA, respectively, and even more benefited from their services and participated in their activities. At private colleges, the percentages were often still higher. Given the widespread and sometimes competing allure of Greek life and athletic events, these numbers are quite impressive.[4]

Both campus associations began as evangelical organizations that limited membership in the Y to those also holding membership in an evangelical church. Initially, these organizations sought to foster common hallmarks of vertical spirituality: worship, prayer, Bible study, and evangelism. Like university administrations, though, the Ys shifted toward more horizontal spirituality over time as changing theological trends affected the thinking of their leaders as well. Still, during the Progressive Era, the Ys remained substantially evangelical in terms of their membership requirements. In 1907, the YMCA allowed students to substitute a personal statement of faith in Christ for church membership, but that statement still defined Christ as God and Savior. The YWCA would retain the evangelical church membership requirement until 1920. Nevertheless, enough intellectual disagreement existed within the Ys that the membership basis came up for regular discussion during this time. Accordingly, alongside expressions of vertical spirituality,

both associations increasingly embraced social service as a Christian duty on which liberals and conservatives could agree. Yet the YMCA and YWCA interpreted its significance differently.[5]

In the face of cultural anxiety over masculinity, the national YMCA embraced the "muscular Christianity" movement that focused on aspects of the faith perceived to be manly and virile. For them, social service signified a physically active Christianity that was engaged with the world rather than confined within church walls. The organization hoped through this emphasis on service to fight the nineteenth-century association of religion with women and thus make Christianity compelling to college men. This line of thinking also encouraged Christian men to seek out the halls of power reserved for their sex so as to do the most good.[6]

Meanwhile, the collegiate YWCA did not need to work nearly as hard to attract members. The nineteenth-century association of women with religion worked for, rather than against, the YWCA. Also, poorer social provisions for female students led many to flock to an extracurricular organization dedicated to bringing together the campus's women. As a result, the YWCA did not need to preach as sex-specific a message about the nature of the Christian life. Professions in which the Y encouraged Christian women to serve included not only "city evangelization, home and foreign missions, [and] teaching" but also "business positions." Still, the YWCA also thought in terms of how women specifically could help Christianize the social order, sometimes adopting the Women's Christian Temperance Union's claim that women had a mandate to make the whole world "homelike."[7] Thus, for women in the YWCA, social service was a practical expression of Christian faith appropriate to either sex, but also a religious imperative that justified extending women's caring values beyond the home into the wider community.

Students in the Ys therefore heard competing discourses: that social service was inherently manly, that it was inherently womanly, and that it was gender-neutral. At different campuses, students would blend these messages with the vision cast by administrators and with their own needs and desires in order to decide how best to express their faith both before and after graduation.

Students at Men's and Coordinate Colleges

At Princeton and Harvard, morally serious students generally fell in line with their leaders' increasingly gendered vision for the service they could render

the nation, and more so as time progressed. A sense of these male students' priorities can be most easily discerned by considering the activities and writings of Princeton's Philadelphian Society, its chapter of the national collegiate Young Men's Christian Association. The Philadelphian Society constituted the umbrella organization for Princeton students who made religious and ethical concerns a priority. This organization was in many ways the model collegiate YMCA, imitated by chapters at colleges and universities across the nation. Philadelphian Society student president Luther Wishard, class of 1877, would go on to serve as the first president of the intercollegiate YMCA. The Philadelphian Society, which had affiliated with the YMCA in 1875, also owned the first Y building on a college campus, Murray Hall, constructed with alumni money in 1879. This approach to ministry soon grew to be the one recommended by the national Y leadership. In 1899, the Dodge extension to Murray Hall (now called Murray-Dodge) then made the society's building the largest of any collegiate Y in the nation, including those at larger coeducational universities.[8]

At Princeton, the YMCA chapter played an even greater role than at coeducational universities. By the 1890s, the Philadelphian Society was the second most popular extracurricular activity on campus—only Princeton's two debating societies combined involved more students. As Francis Patton and subsequent administrators intentionally shifted the balance of student moral training from required courses and daily chapel toward extracurricular life, they happily turned over many religious functions to the Philadelphian Society. The organization thus received administrative endorsement for what historian Daniel Sack calls its "quasi-official role as center of Princeton's religious life." The Philadelphian Society would only become more popular over time: by 1910, around 60 percent of the student body belonged, and that majority would hold throughout much of the next decade.[9]

The extent to which students in the Philadelphian Society embraced a horizontal spirituality that emphasized moral formation for male social roles fairly closely paralleled the transition by Princeton's leaders. For one thing, a similar shift from evangelical to modernist Protestant teaching within the Philadelphian Society reinforced the shift in emphasis from vertical to horizontal spirituality in the administration. During James McCosh's time in office from 1868 to 1888, speakers invited by the Philadelphian Society generally reflected his evangelical theology. Throughout Patton's 1888–1902 presidency, speakers secured by the organization increasingly represented doctrinal positions ranging from traditionally evangelical to modernist. Though Patton remained staunchly evangelical, his emphasis on developing moral traits specifically geared toward graduates' future social roles dovetailed with

modernist speakers who focused more often on the social implications of Christianity. Then, in keeping with Woodrow Wilson's and John Grier Hibben's modernism, in the first decade of the 1900s, the number of modernist speakers addressing the organization grew, until by the middle of the 1910s, they dominated the roster. In 1914, the society became more firmly modernist by removing testimony of a conversion experience from the list of membership requirements.[10]

Over the course of this shift, both evangelical-leaning and modernist-leaning students embraced the increasingly prevalent interpersonal spirituality that emphasized preparing students to take the lead as men in making the nation a better place. For example, by the 1910s, the Philadelphian Society was offering classes on "College Men and Civic Leadership," "Choice of a Profession," and "Social Values in Athletics," all clearly designed to cater to the self-conception of men "on the make" and inject an ethical perspective into their outlook. By comparison, earlier classes had focused on Christian doctrine and the life and teachings of Christ and the apostles.[11]

Additionally, starting during Patton's presidency, members of the Philadelphian Society began to participate in a panoply of service activities. At the turn of the century, male reformers often argued that social service constituted a perfect expression of muscular Christianity, while female reformers considered it an extension of women's nurturing role. Princeton students incorporated their service into their understanding of themselves as men by confining it largely within the male world. They offered classes for Italian immigrants and members of the dining hall staff, led Boy Scout troops and boys clubs, and ran a summer camp for poor boys from the surrounding area. Members of the Philadelphian Society also served their social peers: they participated in "deputations" to nearby college preparatory academies to talk about the importance of Christianity with high school boys.[12]

Throughout the Progressive Era, the Philadelphian Society justified its religious approach by pointing out how closely its members conformed to the elite male ideal. Specifically, it made much of the "prominent" men on campus who affiliated with the organization. Such men fell into roughly three groups: sports stars, heads of student government, and heads of student publications. The association gave its sports stars the most press, and they were always included on deputations. (A deputation pamphlet from the 1910s noted that "the best [deputation] team, for most purposes, has been found to comprise an athlete, a musician, an organizer, and a strong religious speaker.") Thus, students adopted the style of argument pioneered by President Patton.[13]

As Patton had hoped, focusing on religion's power to produce the qualities of an ideal man temporarily served to legitimate evangelical convictions among more cosmopolitan circles. For example, in the 1902 annual report of the Philadelphian Society, the organization defended supporting a foreign missionary who focused more on evangelism than social service, while acknowledging that a difference of opinion on this point existed within the student body. The report claimed that the evangelical Robert Reed Gailey was "fit to be the representative of Princeton and to be supported by men so various in type and religious preference" because "he was one of her most prominent and noted football players of his day, being the center rush on the famous team of 1896." Gailey's conformity to the ideals of success within this all-male community served to validate his (and the society leadership's) preferred approach to the religious life.[14]

In the long run, however, justifying Princeton's evangelical religious approach by reference to its effects on male social roles facilitated the shift toward a more modernist religion that placed greater comparative emphasis on those roles. When the Philadelphian Society brought the prominent liberal theologian Albert Fitch to campus for a widely attended series of talks in 1915, he spoke on "the fundamental meaning of Christianity, dwelling upon its appeal and call to educated men." Likewise, publicizing the presence of sports stars in the association simply served to legitimate the new religious orientation as it had legitimated the old. Thus, starting under Patton, the message students would take from their experience with the Philadelphian Society increasingly shaded away from those aspects of the faith that addressed all people equally and toward those aspects that fit their self-conception as elite men.[15]

With growing emphasis among undergraduates on moral formation for specific social roles came an attempt to negotiate a space of postgraduate civic engagement in that vein. In 1912, Princeton students formed a Committee on Social Service under the aegis of the intercollegiate YMCA to stimulate Princeton graduates to continue the types of service in which they had participated as undergraduates. Similar associations formed at Yale, Columbia, Cornell, Williams, and Michigan. Yet the committee made no effort to channel Princeton graduates into full-time vocational social service, but rather to inspire graduates working in predominately business careers in New York City to volunteer some of their time outside the job to improving the city's conditions. This emphasis is significant in light of undergraduates' service activities. Two of them—the boys club and the lessons for Italian immigrants—in Princeton operated under settlement house–style organizations

run by educated single women. Clearly, the expectation was that graduates for the most part would not elect full-time vocations within this space contested between the sexes. Even many of the avocational service activities recommended by the Committee on Social Service had a male focus. The committee's Social Service Bulletin urged graduates to volunteer at local boys clubs so as to socialize those boys into the graduate's line of work. It also primarily touted areas of civic engagement either exclusively for men or dominated by men: the honest ballot committee, legal aid, and medical relief. Accordingly, the types of service activities the Y encouraged after graduation were those that connected the gender-contested sphere of social work to the more gender-established sphere of professions dominated by elite men.[16]

Meanwhile, during its brief existence, Evelyn College nurtured no comparable voluntary religious and service culture. No extant records indicate students forming any groups dedicated to fostering spirituality of any sort. Surely one reason was the size of the student body. Students lived together under one roof and already formed a tight-knit community; student organizations were not needed to create social bonds. Additionally, though, it seems students imbibed the priorities of the administration for forming cultured women more than women religiously impassioned to change the world. The few available student scrapbooks and letters reveal far greater focus on social activities than on religious or service-oriented ones, and little in-depth religious reflection. Indeed, one scrapbook indicates that five Evelyn girls pledged a joint total of a penny to a church choir music fund. Lack of student affiliation with either the national YWCA or the Philadelphian Society right next door meant that few voices challenged the Evelyn status quo.[17]

While Princeton and, to a lesser extent, Evelyn students exhibited substantial agreement with their institutions' moral vision, cultural factors peculiar to the Cambridge situation meant students at both Harvard and Radcliffe initially did not align as closely with their administrations' priorities. Nevertheless, over time these students too largely came to adopt the ethical outlook of administrators. In the Boston area, the elite among the Puritans' descendants had long since left Congregationalism for Unitarianism. Within this Unitarian stronghold, the student-led Harvard Society of Christian Brethren sought from its beginnings in 1821 to nurture the faith of orthodox Trinitarian Protestants so as to maintain an example of pure doctrine for the rest of the university to see and, hopefully, to emulate. In 1886, the same year Harvard dropped required undergraduate chapel attendance, the society affiliated with the national YMCA.[18]

In keeping with the growing prominence of muscular Christianity within the national movement, the new Harvard YMCA soon increased the social

service component of its activities, which otherwise focused on Bible studies, mission studies, and devotional meetings. Synergy between national Y priorities and local Cambridge realities meant that by the turn of the century, the Harvard association boasted that it had grown in both numbers and campus respect by preaching that religion meant service to humankind, not subscription to a narrow creed. Thus, the Harvard Y actually moved from evangelicalism to modernism more quickly than the rest of the YMCA movement, ironically as a way to fulfill the national goals of increasing campus influence in a heavily Unitarian area.

As at Princeton, this shift meant a new emphasis on horizontal expressions of faith and an attendant emphasis on aspects of spirituality considered masculine. Harvard's Y de-emphasized worship and Bible study and began to overlook the evangelical membership requirement still on the books in the Constitution. Eventually dissatisfied with this lack of integrity, they voted in 1908 to move to a more inclusive membership basis open to Unitarians, and thus broke with the national YMCA.[19] Meanwhile, the association had joined with other religious groups in the Phillips Brooks House to contribute to a truly impressive record of service to the larger Cambridge and Boston areas. For example, in the fall 1903 semester alone, 297 men volunteered at 41 different social service institutions, and reasonable estimates for the rest of the decade indicate that an average of 400 men per year participated. These Harvard students had heeded the 1902 address to the Christian association by Dean Briggs—who, with a touch of irony, would become president of Radcliffe College the next year. Briggs had exhorted Harvard men to volunteer for service to area charitable associations because "it is ever so much easier for them to get women as workers than to get men, and some of these associations are greatly in need of men." For Briggs, perceived dominance of social service by women did not make it an area to be shunned by men, but rather one to be fought for. The types of service in which Harvard men engaged ranged from the stereotypically male (staffing a reading room for sailors, considered among the roughest of men) to the stereotypically female (teaching a Sunday school for Chinese immigrants) to the attempt to maintain a male presence in a typically female space (by providing male role models for boys clubs in area settlement houses). Yet, as with the service conducted by Princeton students, these were the sorts of activities a graduate could continue on the side while pursuing a more prestigious profession.[20]

Though Briggs's complaint that women dominated social service may have been true in the world at large, it was certainly not true among Cambridge college students. Only a few blocks beyond Harvard Yard the women of Radcliffe College were forging their own distinct religious life. That life

would place less emphasis on social service than did Harvard's religious and service organizations, but not because Radcliffe students considered social service masculine. Rather, Radcliffe women simply had fewer resources available to them to facilitate such service. As resources grew, so would service. When the Harvard Annex, later Radcliffe, opened in 1879, it provided women with classes but no dormitories or extracurricular life. Radcliffe students had to fight over time to build a collegiate life comparable to that at other women's colleges.

This struggle colored the nature of student religious life. In 1888, students founded the first voluntary religious organization, the Emmanuel Club, but that organization gradually shifted from meeting spiritual needs through devotional exercises to meeting relational and physical needs by providing social opportunities and financial assistance to poor or lonely students. So, in 1896, a second group of students founded the Radcliffe Christian Association (RCA) to fill the gap by enabling students to come together for religious devotion. In 1899, the RCA affiliated with the national YWCA to take advantage of its resources and connections. As part of this newfound identity, the Radcliffe group engaged in copious correspondence and idea sharing with other YWCA-affiliated organizations at women's colleges or local coeducational institutions like Boston University. In contrast, the RCA neither corresponded with nor held joint meetings with the Harvard Christian Association. Rather, sister organizations, mostly under the YWCA umbrella, provided the needed spiritual and social support. The policies the RCA adopted were thus significantly influenced by national YWCA policy and other collegiate women's groups, but hardly at all by the initiatives and convictions of the male collegians just down the street.[21]

Thus, fewer available institutional resources made the RCA more theologically conservative than Radcliffe's leaders and less inclined to engage in the sort of social service that many administrators considered a good outlet for women's education. Dependent on the umbrella organization, the RCA kept close pace with the emphases of the national Y movement, which continued to incorporate Godward along with social spirituality, whereas well-supported Harvard students proved more inclined to go their own way. Hence, the RCA focused on aspects of religious expression such as Bible studies and devotional meetings longer than the Harvard group. Additionally, the RCA—with fewer of their fellow students' needs provided for—focused their interpersonal spiritual expression almost exclusively on the campus community rather than the world beyond. A joint committee with the Emmanuel Club ran, among other things, an Exchange Bureau to help financially needy students find work, a lending library to provide inexpen-

sive use of textbooks, and socials for new students to integrate them into Radcliffe life.[22]

An increased focus on service to the larger community awaited the union of the RCA, the Emmanuel Club, and the tiny College Settlement Association into the Radcliffe Guild in 1911. By this time, Radcliffe had developed a robust extracurricular life, and students and administrators had accordingly come to believe that these three groups needlessly duplicated much of the same work. In a joint meeting to which the entire college was invited, the three organizations decided to combine to form the Radcliffe Guild. In so doing, the RCA withdrew from the YWCA. It changed its membership basis from the Y's requirement of membership in an evangelical church to one even more inclusive than Harvard's: any Radcliffe student could join by paying fifty cents. On severing ties with the national YWCA, the group lost its evangelical character and gained a focus on what the three groups shared in common: service.

Although the national Y encouraged its chapters to participate in social service, limited resources for Radcliffe students had meant that previously only the college's Settlement Association had done so: it threw fund-raisers to benefit one local settlement house and also provided evening entertainments at others. By the time the Guild formed, however, dorms and a more traditional extracurricular life freed Radcliffe students to invest their social energy beyond the campus gates. Accordingly, the Guild alternated between hosting a religious speaker and a philanthropic one, and also promptly incorporated a chapter of the National Consumers League and a chapter of the National Municipal League. The former represented a body of women using their domestic purchasing power to demand better conditions at factories and stores, and the latter an organization of both men and women seeking to reform city government—a contested area of service that female reformers like Jane Addams argued was peculiarly appropriate for women. After all, she claimed, good city management was just good household management writ large. Thus, by the 1910s, influences pushing Radcliffe students toward female areas of public service would equal those at play for other college women—at the moment when Radcliffe administrators began to argue that women should also cast their eyes even further afield.[23]

On the whole, then, ethically minded students at coordinate colleges, as well as at their brother institutions, ultimately seem to have embraced the type of spirituality and the moral vision advocated by the institutions' leaders. Yet early Radcliffe students' experience points to the critical importance of administrative influence over not only the curriculum but also the extracurriculum in effectively communicating a moral message to students. In an

extracurricular vacuum, early Radcliffe women looked instead to the national YWCA for guidance and also prioritized meeting their own immediate needs. As resources grew, though, Radcliffe students concerned with religious and ethical matters embraced the larger trend toward horizontal spirituality and gendered moral service that was evident in different ways at Princeton, Evelyn, and Harvard. Students at independent women's colleges would also embrace a more social spirituality over time, but the extent to which Wellesley or Bryn Mawr students understood their moral contributions to society in a gendered fashion would correlate with the stance taken by their respective administrations.

Students at Independent Women's Colleges

Even more than their peers elsewhere, Wellesley students proved to be strongly influenced by college leaders' moral vision for their lives. The unusual origin of the Wellesley College Christian Association (WCCA) captures this interrelationship: it was founded by a faculty member turned administrator. President Alice Freeman started up the group in imitation of the Student Christian Association at the University of Michigan, where she had been one of the earliest female members. Begun in 1884, the WCCA had a faculty member as president until 1894. Even after this time, faculty-student cooperation continued to mark the organization: through the 1910s, annual reports of the WCCA regularly thank the faculty for their assistance and list extensive faculty membership in the organization. As these facts would suggest, this student voluntary religious group blended particularly seamlessly into the priorities of Wellesley's administration and faculty. The records of the WCCA provide clear testimony that a large majority of Wellesley students both cared about the nuances of religion and developed their thinking and priorities in the direction that faculty and administrators led—albeit at a slower pace—ultimately embracing their vision of social service as the best vocation for educated Christian women.[24]

Writing in 1913 at the height of the Progressive Era, a Wellesley student would later reflect that the formation of the association was an early manifestation of the Progressive drive toward greater "efficiency." Prior to the start of the WCCA, Wellesley housed several voluntary Christian and service activities in addition to Wellesley's required Bible classes, prayer meetings, and religious services: a Missionary Society, volunteer work among factory workers in South Natick and Charles River Village, and a Temperance Society. In 1884, the voluntary activities banded together under the aus-

pices of the Christian Association, thereby coordinating them from a single location and explicitly marking them as manifestations of piety. More service activities were soon added, such as free classes for the college's maids. Finally, the association also held its own weekly devotional meetings and Bible studies. Thus, from the beginning, the WCCA joined expressions of vertical and horizontal spirituality: the association's members supported the spread of the gospel at home and abroad and also served their neighbors in practical ways.[25]

Most of these activities were not specific to women. Nationally, women dominated temperance advocacy, but college men and women both participated widely in the other types of service. Likewise, most of Wellesley's voluntary classes on Bible or missions covered topics that could have applied equally to either sex. The occasional talks on issues associated with women seemed not to prescribe a certain path but rather simply to draw on the interests and experiences the women students had accumulated. For example, one of the WCCA lectures in 1891 covered the topic "Religion in the Home"—but another covered the topic "Religion in Business."[26]

The WCCA essentially functioned as a chapter of the national YWCA, welcoming its traveling secretaries as speakers and sending representatives to its summer conferences, though it did not formally affiliate until 1913. The union of the Wellesley Association with this larger body was delayed by the fact that the WCCA did not regulate association membership by means of evangelical church membership as did the Y, but rather by means of a personal pledge of faith in Jesus Christ as "Lord and Savior." Desire for affiliation with the larger body—another manifestation of the Progressive drive toward efficiency—came up for discussion many times, starting in 1891–1892. Its fundamental similarities with the national movement meant that the WCCA eventually worked out an agreement in 1913 where it could join the YWCA without changing its membership basis. Despite lack of formal affiliation for most of this time, the development of Wellesley's association roughly paralleled the development of the national movement.[27]

From the first annual reports printed by the WCCA, beginning with the 1905–1906 school year, the portrait that emerged was of an evangelical organization also committed to social Christianity, a commitment that would grow to dominate the association during the next decade and a half. The first five years of annual reports reveal a strong emphasis on those aspects of spirituality that involved relating directly to God through faith in Christ and prayer—but at the same time, association members saw campus and community service as flowing naturally from that relationship. Thus, in 1907–1908, the association stated as its primary goal "that every student might

come into relationship with Christ as her Lord and Saviour [*sic*] and realize more fully the joy of his friendship," but unto the end that Wellesley women "might [thereby] be led more perfectly into 'the doing of God's will and the service of His love as the one satisfying mission of life.'" Likewise, the following year, the WCCA president asserted that "prayer and the study of His Word are recognized to be the heart of the work" of the association, but the reports also specified that from relationship with Christ should follow a "social consciousness . . . based on the conviction that Christianity holds the key to the solution of the problem presented by the modern social crisis."[28]

The WCCA's understanding of the relationship between Godward and social spirituality began to change at the beginning of the 1910s—considerably later than that of the faculty, but arriving at the same destination. Gone from the annual reports is any language regarding a personal relationship with Christ, or regarding Christ as Savior. In its place is a collapse of the vertical elements of spirituality into the pursuit of "the Christ-life," "the Christian life," or "the Christ-like life." Likewise came a shift from "the joy of his [Christ's] friendship" to "the joy that comes from the united service of Jesus Christ." The term "Master," a hallmark of the social gospel understanding of Christ as teacher and embodiment of just principles more than as mediator between God and humans, first appears in the 1908–1909 report and becomes an increasingly frequent term that soon pushes out the word "Savior." Although the WCCA pledge had always been broad enough that some interpreted it in such a way as to welcome theologically modernist students, "Savior" had been somewhat problematic.[29]

In the 1912–1913 annual report, the association addressed this problem head-on by stating directly that it intended to encompass students who were part of either evangelical or modernist streams of interpretation, an approach they believed "seems the most Christian." The association urged potential members: "If you conscientiously think of Jesus as your Lord and Master and intend to live a life Christian in character, we are glad and eager to have you as members of the Association, no matter to what sect or denomination you belong, no matter how you interpret the words 'Lord and Master.'" Presumably, this policy had gone into effect the year before; the percentage of Wellesley students who belonged to the WCCA had consistently hovered between 65 percent and 69 percent, but had jumped to an astounding 81 percent in 1911–1912. It would steadily fall after that, but not below 74 percent until a revamping of the canvassing policy during World War I. Wellesley's statistics thus dwarfed even the impressive 50 percent of women attending a coeducational state university who belonged to a YWCA—and some of those probably belonged for the much-needed opportunity it pro-

vided to socialize with other women students, a need hardly pressing for Wellesley women. That such a huge percentage of Wellesley students identified in some manner with the Christian tradition is most likely due to its historical reputation as a vitally religious women's college. Though the nature of that religion shifted over time, administration, faculty, and students continued to work together toward religious goals with more unity than was found at many other colleges and universities.[30]

Wellesley students therefore conceived of their spiritually motivated service in a mix of gendered and nongendered ways. On the one hand, the long dominance of vertical spirituality within the WCCA worked against focusing on female social roles. On the other hand, the association had also incorporated social spirituality from its beginnings, and it worked closely with faculty who interpreted that spirituality in a gendered manner. Complicating matters further was Wellesley's unique all-female setting. Wellesley and Mount Holyoke stood alone among elite women's colleges in maintaining an exclusively female environment: not only were all the students women but also all the professors. Reinforcing this insular female world, the WCCA corresponded almost exclusively with associations at other women's colleges, and not with women's associations at coeducational institutions. Thus, Wellesley students existed in a social world devoid of forced comparison with men, but also one in which faculty's viewpoints held particular power. The upshot was that in daily life the role sex might play in determining how students would serve God did not seem to enter students' minds as often as it did their professors', but it strongly shaped how they viewed life after graduation.[31]

The ways in which the WCCA served the campus and the community therefore remained for the most part comparable to what either men or women at other colleges might do. Like both the YMCA and the YWCA, the WCCA welcomed new students to the college and connected students interested in employment with employers who were equally interested in their work. With their own needs relatively well provided for, women in Wellesley's Christian association also turned outward, continuing to offer classes and socials for the college maids and also providing for the material and social welfare of the poor and the sick in Boston and its environs.[32]

It was when students considered the mixed-sex postgraduation world that they proved receptive to their professors' message about opportunities for service particularly suited to educated women. In 1904, activist professor Katharine Coman recorded that Wellesley was the single largest contributor to the funds of the College Settlement Association, the umbrella organization for the vocation toward which prominent Wellesley professors most

encouraged students. Similarly, the author of a 1913 history of the WCCA signaled that students had internalized the faculty's viewpoint when she wrote that temperance reform seemed to hold a particular claim on both Wellesley students and graduates "in view of the social leadership of women." Responses to a survey from 1904 revealed that large numbers of Wellesley graduates participated in both paid and volunteer work in the field of social service, including home and foreign missions, the YWCA, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, church-based social services, organized charities, public schooling, and women's clubs that they sought to convert to a service orientation. Thus, despite the limited connection between gender ideals and forms of undergraduate community service, students aligned their postgraduate plans with the faculty's gendered moral vision—even as students remained somewhat more theologically conservative than their elders throughout most of the Progressive Era.[33]

Bryn Mawr students also experienced religious and moral formation in ways shaped by the administration but not dictated by it—and therefore sometimes at odds with it. Bryn Mawr's most powerful administrator, M. Carey Thomas, stood for a modernist interpretation of the Christian tradition and an emphasis on the social components of spirituality. She also stood for the belief that women's fulfillment and society's best interests would converge when women's talents were utilized in every useful field of work, not just in those considered feminine. Thomas additionally stood for student self-government as the embodiment of the democratic ideals she fought for in women's equal participation in society. Yet, self-government meant that students sometimes went their own way in terms of their religious and moral priorities.

Unlike at Wellesley, no administrators or faculty directly involved themselves with voluntary student religious groups, and Bryn Mawr's mixed-sex faculty did not create the sort of social environment where students identified as readily with administrative priorities as they did at the other women's college. For the most part, though, differences between Bryn Mawr students and their president related to theology, not gender. Although many students saw eye to eye with Thomas, many others proved far more evangelical than their leader, and vocally so. As Thomas would have wanted, however, neither evangelical nor modernist students made much of their nature as women in deciding how to worship or serve.[34]

Though fairly uniform in terms of service commitment, student religious life exhibited a range of theoretical approaches to the ethical life that demonstrates the extent to which students both cared about such issues and thought for themselves. A student-run Sunday evening religious meeting, be-

gun the same year as student self-government, proved in keeping both with Thomas's priorities and with Quaker traditions and forms. Open to all students regardless of religious affiliation, the meeting consisted of the opportunity for any student to speak as she felt led (a distinctive of Quaker gatherings) on any topic of religious or ethical significance. Consequently, students heard voices from across the theological spectrum as they wrestled together with the ultimate questions of life. The Christian Union, founded by students in 1894, also kept pace with Thomas's general theological orientation as well as with the founders' broad intentions that Bryn Mawr foster Christian belief and service. This organization offered the standard round of activities that would be found elsewhere in a collegiate YWCA: Bible study, missions classes, and opportunities to serve both campus and community. Unlike the Y, however, the Christian Union had no restrictions for membership, not even a pledge of Christian belief or commitment like Wellesley's. All students interested in the work of the organization could join and vote. As a result, much like the Sunday evening meeting, the Union encompassed women from across the theological spectrum.[35]

The number of participants in the Christian Union—38 percent of the Bryn Mawr student body by 1898—actually made Bryn Mawr a fairly secular school, which Thomas did not mind. In 1901, student Mabel Austin, class of 1905, recorded in her journal that outsiders thought life at Bryn Mawr to be "immoral" and "atheistic," but she had found that there were actually lots of Christian meetings, not only campus-wide but also ones run by students in each residence hall. Austin admitted, however, that even as a student, she had encountered some difficulty in finding them. Her comments suggest that seriously Christian students constituted a significant subculture at Bryn Mawr—not overly visible in mainstream student social life, but fairly sizable nonetheless.[36]

A significant portion of these students soon veered off the religious path Thomas most approved. In 1903, a group of Christian Union members split off and formed the Bryn Mawr League for the Service of Christ because they believed that "there should be at Bryn Mawr an association standing definitely for belief in Christ as God" since an organization that included under the title "Christian" students who did not believe Jesus is God did not accurately represent the historic Christian faith to the student body. By 1906, the League encompassed an impressive 21 percent of the Bryn Mawr student body. In 1908, the Union boasted 240 students and the League 100.[37] Thus, roughly a third of the students who cared enough about these questions to affiliate with a campus Christian organization believed that forgiveness of sin through faith in a divine Christ was the essence of Christian belief, not

merely embracing Jesus's ethics—and hence worth working separately from other women who also considered themselves Christian. The other roughly two-thirds either did not consider this belief the essence of Christianity or they believed it was still most productive for God's purposes on earth to continue to work alongside those who disagreed on this point. In breaking with one set of coworkers in the Christian Union, however, the League simultaneously affiliated with another: the League's evangelical membership requirements meant that, unlike the Christian Union, it could join the national YWCA movement, which it did in 1905–1906.[38]

Yet both the League and the Union carried on nearly identical rounds of Bible study, missions classes, and service activities, none of which had a sex-specific aspect. Within the unique culture of Bryn Mawr, horizontal spirituality did not correlate with a gendered vision of service. Thus, students did not believe their theological differences implied divergent understandings of women's role in the world, even though both interrogated the connection between Bible study and service. The Union offered more modernist topics of Bible study, such as "Mythological Questions" and "Comparative Religions," while the League offered more evangelical topics, such as "The Deity of Christ" and "The Atonement." Both organizations, however, also offered more basic topics in Bible, and many girls actually took classes from both organizations. Notably, both groups also encouraged and supported social service. The Union offered a class entitled "Social Teachings of Jesus," while the League offered a class on "Social Problems in Light of the Incarnation." The titles reflect the relative emphases of the two groups, but both clearly believed their root convictions led to engaging in a life of service to others. The philanthropic work of the two organizations blurred since their members had previously united in a standard round of service activities and many continued to work together. As Thomas would have wished, the women participated in gender-neutral, stereotypically female, and stereotypically male activities interchangeably: in addition to welcoming new students and raising money for needy students, the women conducted hospital visitations, ran classes for both the maids and the servant boys present on campus, and even got involved with a boys club in town.[39]

In 1910, Bryn Mawr's two Christian organizations joined back together into a single new group, the Christian Association—quite possibly owing in part to pressure from Thomas. The reunion occurred the year after the collapse of the Sunday evening meeting and met the resulting felt need for an organization that would bring together all the college's Christian students. Additional motivation for the merger came from desire within both groups for greater "efficiency" in their work that was not possible while the college

housed two committees on Bible study, two committees on mission study, and two committees on Christian social service. Also of concern was the message sent to the women on campus who did not identify with Christianity. The women who did, wanted, in the words of the Union, "to represent the religious life of the college as no longer divided in form, as it is not divided in spirit." A report the following year by the new joint Christian Association indicates that working together again stretched the members of both groups. In their words, it led them "to question our own convictions as to [past] method, to doubt whether, after all, we have worked with the greatest possible efficiency for the glory of God in this College." In essence, Union members had come to believe that they could more effectively bring about the kingdom of God on earth by cooperating even with those who held more restrictive beliefs about who was a part of that kingdom. Meanwhile, League members had come to believe that they could more effectively do so by cooperating even with those who they believed were not yet a part of that kingdom.[40]

The hoped-for efficiency, however, proved elusive. The new Christian Association had a statement of purpose to which both evangelicals and modernists could agree, albeit with different interpretations: "to give every one [*sic*] a fuller knowledge of Christ and a chance to work for his kingdom" and "to make a Christlike life the life of every individual in college." The means to this end was to admit to active membership all who agreed to make that aim their own so as to "giv[e] as many people as possible an active part in the association work." This work increasingly focused on social service, less contentious than the Bible study and missions classes. Still, the goal proved difficult to achieve. In order to fairly represent the diversity within Bryn Mawr's Christian community, the Association's board grew large and unwieldy and found it challenging to act with unified purpose; the Association's membership, in turn, tended to leave most of the service work to the large number of women already in leadership positions. Unintentionally then, the Christian Association ultimately embodied Thomas's ideal: it did not discriminate based on theology . . . and it did not take too much time away from class, at least for its rank-and-file members.[41]

Still, throughout the Progressive Era many students had participated in social service activities, both within and beyond the campus's religious groups, and they would continue to do so after the new Christian Association became the umbrella organization for service. Even once Bryn Mawr had thus developed a predominantly horizontal spirituality by the 1910s, its students still only occasionally indicated that they understood this service to others in a distinctly feminine way. Bryn Mawr's homegrown service

organizations, the Reform (later, the De Rebus) Club and the Economic Club, could have served either sex equally well. They respectively brought in speakers on diverse social service opportunities and the applications of the growing discipline of sociology. Bryn Mawr students also participated in local chapters of national movements, such as the Settlement Association and the Consumers League, led by and for female college students and graduates to bring women's unique abilities to bear on the social problems of the day. Yet their records indicate that their gendered aspects did not occupy the forefront of participants' minds. True, at least one student argued for greater participation among her classmates in settlement work by asserting that "the work of visiting from house to house, in a friendly, neighborly way, seems peculiarly adapted to women." But although she seemed to believe this argument would be a selling point, not many students used it. On the whole, then, it seems Bryn Mawr students of all theological stripes participated in the wide range of service activities available to them more than they flocked to those often considered fitting for women. Social roles were not the first priority for students who favored focus on communicating the gospel, and for others, the environment Thomas sought to establish encouraged them not to limit the expression of more social spirituality to any one avenue. Still, influence from national service organizations brought to the campus a more sex-specific moral message than Thomas may have wished.[42]

Thus, at both Wellesley and Bryn Mawr, the efficiency argument ultimately led students to group evangelicals and modernists within the same organization. The upshot of this big tent approach was a focus on horizontal spirituality—what conservatives and liberals shared—interpreted as either more or less gendered in accordance with the moral vision cast by the respective institutions. Meanwhile, at coeducational Michigan and California, the efficiency argument would paradoxically lead to the separation of a single coeducational group into two single-sex groups who at that time did not differ substantially in their theology. In this manner, students would hear the message that moral formation ought to differ for women and men regardless of the moral vision cast by university leaders.

Students at Coeducational State Universities

Michigan's coeducational Student Christian Association had a long and complicated relationship with the national YMCA. Its history highlights the power of local factors to affect the extent to which students' religious beliefs and practices more closely followed the vision of university administrators

or of the national Ys. In 1857, university students formed a voluntary religious organization, patterned and named after the YMCA. Shortly thereafter, the regents appointed a committee to study the question of coeducation. For the time being, they concluded against it, but the student religious group supported the proposition and changed its name to the gender-neutral Student Christian Association (SCA) to make room for the future admission of women. Like many student groups across the nation, the association later formally affiliated with the national YMCA in the late 1860s. Then, in 1870, when the university finally did admit women, the student group promptly admitted them as well. Again like many similar student religious groups, the SCA retained its affiliation with the national YMCA. When YMCA leadership concluded in the early 1880s that the best work could be done by splitting these coeducational groups into a separate YMCA and YWCA, most coeducational schools, which often maintained social segregation of the sexes anyway, fell into line.[43]

The University of Michigan, however, did not. During 1885–1886, students in Michigan's coeducational Student Christian Association published articles in the SCA's monthly journal that advocated remaining coeducational. These articles argued that focus on a single sex was appropriate in the city context where men and women workers inhabited different social realms during the workday and thus formed different cultures. But the University of Michigan had no rules regulating the socialization of men and women outside of class; hence, breaking them into separate groups would be artificial. SCA members argued that doing so would make Christianity seem divisive and therefore unattractive to the very students they were trying to reach with the gospel. Furthermore, progress, they claimed, was moving in the direction of cooperation between the sexes in an increasing number of fields of work; surely the work of God, the author of progress, should be no different. The SCA should make the decision that best served the interests of Christ in their university, even if it meant losing affiliation with the national organization.[44]

A few voices dissented. They noted that not all university activities were coeducational and argued that coeducation could be useful in the classroom while separation outside the classroom could be just as useful. Furthermore, creating a separate YWCA would actually provide more leadership opportunities for university women. Women did often serve in leadership positions in the current SCA, but always at the level of secretary, treasurer, or committee chairperson, never president.[45]

At first, coeducationalists carried the day, and the SCA's decision resulted in their expulsion from the YMCA in 1886. Though this decision gave the

SCA more freedom, standing outside the national organization would eventually take its toll. The national YMCA restricted membership to members of certified evangelical churches, but in 1893, SCA students used their independence to seek to reach more students by opening membership to Unitarians and Adventists. National YMCA collegiate general secretary John Mott then capitalized on the concerns of several more orthodox students and succeeded in forming a YMCA alongside the SCA in 1895. Shortly thereafter, theologically conservative students who favored a coeducational group convinced the SCA to resume requiring members to belong to evangelical churches. The awkward result was two campus Christian organizations separated by no different convictions than whether college women and men should worship and serve together. The YMCA claimed the years of fighting within the SCA sprang from adding women to the organization and argued that it ought to dissolve into a separate YMCA and YWCA. The student author of an 1896 editorial argued back that the entrance of women had only strengthened the religious life of the organization; only after the national YMCA tried to introduce a more restrictive policy did fighting begin.[46]

In the end, the national YMCA won. In 1901, a separate YWCA formed and in 1904, the SCA gave up its status as an independent coeducational organization and transformed into an umbrella organization for a campus YMCA and YWCA. The separation of the sexes was literally inscribed in stone: the men of the SCA joined up with the YMCA in its temporary quarters and left the SCA building, Newberry Hall, to the YWCA. What ultimately made this solution palatable was the fact that by the turn of the century, wider Michigan student culture had solidified separate social spheres for male and female students. The SCA therefore saw no point in continuing to duplicate the same Christian work among men in competing organizations. In fact, in keeping with the wider trend in student life, the SCA had begun segregating some of its own work in the mid-1890s. The SCA seemed to be wrestling to find a workable solution that would address several concerns: the increasingly separate spheres of male and female students, the increasingly large—and hence increasingly unwieldy—size of the SCA, the arguments of those who formed a separate YMCA branch, and continuing commitment to the principle of coeducation.[47]

The SCA therefore held some segregated studies and devotional exercises to facilitate closer same-sex friendships, while men and women continued to cooperate in activities oriented toward aiding those outside the association. Indeed, during its coeducational years, the SCA sponsored an unusual degree of cooperation between men and women in serving the local com-

munity. Men and women worked together on temperance advocacy (normally more associated with women) and also ran Sunday schools (associated with female teachers) and church services (associated with male preachers) in poor areas of Ann Arbor and the surrounding area, as well as for hospital patients and residents in the County Home. These service activities had a strong Godward component as well: the primary aid students rendered to the disadvantaged was to provide them Bible teaching and worship services. Starting in 1896, students also participated in one notable more purely social service activity outside the campus gates: settlement house work. Although settlement work became more associated with women—in part due to the prominence of Jane Addams at Hull House in Chicago and Lillian Wald at Henry Street in New York—Michigan's women and men both participated. The association provided a scholarship for one student to spend several weeks to several months in residence at a settlement house (at first Hull House, founded by a woman, and later Chicago Commons, founded by a man) so that the student "may observe social conditions in one of the slum districts of Chicago." The sex of the recipient alternated each year. By not segregating service opportunities, the association, like President James Angell, did not seek to track male or female students into respective types of activities in the world.[48]

Though the sexes no longer worked as closely together under the restructured SCA, men and women continued to participate in similar activities: the newly separate YMCA and YWCA did not constitute discernibly different religious environments. The purpose statement of the old SCA had been "to unite the Christian students of the University in order to strengthen their own Christian life and extend the cause of Christ among their classmates." Now the YMCA claimed that "the object of the association is to promote growth in Christian fellowship among its members, and aggressive Christian work, especially by and for college men; to train them for Christian service, and to lead them to devote their lives to Jesus Christ, not only in distinctly religious callings, but also in secular pursuits." Belying stereotypes about which sex is more verbose, the YWCA simply sought "to develop strong Christian womanhood among the woman students of the University." Yet work "especially by and for college men," as compared to work designed to "develop strong Christian womanhood," remained remarkably similar, at least on the surface.[49]

The new pair of organizations retained both worship and community service aspects of spiritual expression, and in accordance with the national goals of the Ys, added service to the campus such as welcoming freshmen and running an employment bureau for students who needed to work to

pay for their education. From the beginning, the YWCA included an "extension" committee dedicated to service work in the local area, although the YMCA did not devote a separate "social service" committee to this type of work until 1913. It did, however, actively encourage students "who may be interested in the practical workings of a sociological Christian organization" to involve themselves with the city YMCA. Meanwhile, both chapters kept in fairly close step with the pace of the two national movements' transition away from teaching doctrinal content aimed at conversion and toward encouraging service to school and the world.[50]

Once the YMCA formally incorporated social service in the 1910s, the activities of the two organizations became nearly identical; yet, as if to justify the existence of separate groups, their single-sex rhetoric increased. The YMCA boasted of its weekly Sunday night meetings that "the peculiar attraction of these gatherings is that they are for men only and speakers are secured with this in view." Its 1914–1915 report likewise asserted: "It is a non-coeducational organization. Its appeal is solely to men, hence always masculine." Meanwhile, the YWCA spelled out its purpose in more detail; the organization sought "in every way possible to develop the strongest Christian Womanhood in the girls of the University [and] to give them the highest ideals of service." The leaders of both Ys thus effectively claimed that the same ideals of service produced entirely different results when instilled in different sexes in different contexts.[51]

While Dean Myra Jordan worked with the YWCA to carve out a vocational specialty for women in the service professions, the Michigan YMCA argued that the significance of its work lay in forming the moral outlook of the men who would be the nation's future leaders. Indeed, as a men's association in a coeducational context, Michigan made this claim even more baldly than did YMCAs, such as Princeton's Philadelphian Society, that ministered in a single-sex context. The first page of the Michigan YMCA's 1914–1915 report listed the statistics for college graduates' disproportionate service in the national government, and then added that with respect to its own campus, "the University of Michigan had more of its graduates in Congress in Washington than any other American University" (a statistic that must have gotten under the skin of Harvard's President Lowell). The report closed with a reminder that college men would soon make the nation's laws, instruct the next generation, and enter the nation's homes as physicians. If these facts were not enough to sell supporters on the importance of the association's work, it assured all parties concerned that its work "is commanding increasingly the enthusiastic support of the most virile and influential men on campus" because "the tasks suggested [are] so real as to appeal might-

ily to every red-blooded man who has even the beginning of brotherly love in his heart."[52]

In a brochure geared toward the men of the senior class, the YMCA urged upcoming graduates to devote their future free time to serving their local political, social, and religious organizations as "a matter of patriotism." Such organizations included the Associated Charities, "the nearest social settlement," and the Juvenile Court, among others. Although college leaders often urged women into social service professions, the Michigan YMCA, like the Ys at Princeton and Harvard, assumed that, for the most part, men would enter the more prestigious and powerful professions. Social service for men, then, was the manifestation of a manly faith, but in a volunteer capacity.[53]

The tensions between all these competing coeducational and single-sex, local and national religious ideals on Michigan's campus are exemplified by a temporary furor over the campus YMCA late in 1911. A local minister charged that the Y was usurping the place of the churches by scheduling its meetings at the same time as local church meetings for college students. This set off a snowball of criticism by faculty, students, and other local pastors, gleefully published muckraking-style by the student newspaper. The two main additional charges aired were that: (1) the national YMCA had intruded itself and its foreign single-sex methods on the native coeducational student group that had more organically reflected campus culture; and (2) the proposed new YMCA building would be in competition with the proposed new Michigan Union building. National YMCA policy encouraged constructing a building to serve as the hub of student social life in order to increase the Y's influence on campus, and the YMCA had not had a building of its own ever since the men's division of the SCA joined with the YMCA and left Newberry Hall to the YWCA. The Michigan Union building, however, proposed to do much the same thing. The Union was to be a uniting force on the campus, a meeting place for students, faculty, and alumni where they could dine together and engage in recreation. It was to be the embodiment of the spirit of local community loyalty to alma mater. It was to be limited to men. No one noticed the irony of pairing these two complaints.

When the campus newspaper solicited student opinion on the YMCA, it interviewed what were known at the time as "representative men," leaders in campus life. It is uncertain how representative they were, but it is certain they were men; no women were consulted. These men appreciated the fact that the YMCA had provided student services (for men) that the administration had not. But they argued that the YMCA should not continue to involve itself in these nonreligious functions now better served by the Union.

These same men also waxed eloquent in their preference for the old coeducational SCA, but made it clear that their main concern was the all-male Union building. Thus, the students' sex segregation complaints served to buttress the university seizing back student care from the Y several years earlier than occurred at most other schools, where deans did not take over these functions until after World War I.[54]

The conflicting priorities evident in the YMCA/Union controversy mirror the conflicting moral messages Michigan students received during this era. Both men and women heard from the university's presidents that their education fitted them for all vocations. Both men and women embraced the shift toward greater emphasis on the social service aspects of Christian spirituality. Through the cooperation of the dean of women with the YWCA, women heard a clearer message about the implications of horizontal spirituality for their future vocational decisions. The YWCA and the YMCA also gave competing interpretations to service activities—even though the women and men who involved themselves in these organizations ultimately did the same things. The combination of these different moral visions and disparate available opportunities meant that, after graduation, the approaches to service by women and men would not continue along parallel lines. Many women would track into the service professions such as teaching or social service careers considered peculiarly appropriate to their sex, while many men would track into leadership positions in government or the more established professions.

The Ys similarly shaped the student experience at the University of California, and in a less controversial manner because California's student culture was more amenable to housing separate organizations for women and men. But that culture also contributed to a significant difference between voluntary religion at Michigan and California: poorer social provisions for California's women ultimately led its YWCA to focus more on meeting the needs of individual women and less on tracking them into female areas of service.

The University of California's first student religious organization began coeducational. An entirely homegrown affair, the University Bible Students met from March 15, 1878, to October 6, 1884, and opened itself to all university students, regardless of faith or sex. The primary purpose of the organization was "the promotion of religion and morality among the students," the same two goals of the national YMCA movement. As that movement expanded its reach westward, the University Bible Students reorganized themselves as a YMCA in 1884, thus taking on its evangelical church membership requirement. Yet even as YMCA President Luther Wishard was busy spinning

off YWCAs in coeducational universities further east, the original California YMCA, like its predecessor organization, included both women and men.[55] In 1889, its women split off into a separate YWCA chapter—but without all the drama that had taken place at Michigan. The women made this move themselves, inspired by representatives from other campus YWCAs that were visiting the area for a conference. At Michigan, women were fairly well integrated into campus life from the beginning, whereas at California—where many of the women students still resided with their families—they were not. Therefore, the idea of having a separate organization for themselves was appealing, particularly as women were approaching a third of the undergraduate population and a shift toward a separate culture for female students was occurring on campuses nationwide.[56]

From 1889 forward, the University of California thus sustained both a YMCA and YWCA by the students' own choosing. Yet, for the most part, as at Michigan, the activities of these two organizations remained extremely similar. Both offered the standard round of devotional exercises, Bible studies, classes on the expansion of Protestant missions abroad, and, increasingly, the social service opportunities popular among college YMCAs and YWCAs across the country. The two Ys did not cooperate on social service but still conducted their activities in almost exact parallel: the most common form of service for both organizations was volunteer work at the boys and girls clubs—operated separately—that the two associations founded in West Berkeley. Both Ys made their headquarters in a building called Stiles Hall, built in the early 1890s, and like their Michigan counterparts, did cooperate there to offer basic freshman orientation services that the university had yet to provide.[57]

Nevertheless, all was not equal. Although the donor of Stiles Hall—a woman—had intended it for equal use between the women's and men's associations, the men's association considered itself the sole manager of the building. The YMCA also occupied more of the building than the YWCA, and eventually turned the basement into a social room—including billiards and bowling—for the exclusive use of the campus's men. Though Stiles Hall did not serve substantially more men than women, Y men pushed the women to the side—literally—because, for evangelistic purposes, national YMCA policy dictated seeking to become the center of student social life, and male students ran that life: the Associated Students of the University of California failed to live up to its name—it had only male officers—such that women students actually had to establish a parallel organization, the Associated Women Students, to better meet their own needs. Not surprisingly, few student groups included women along with men.[58]

The marginalization of women, both in Stiles Hall and on the campus at large, led to the most significant difference between the programs of the YMCA and the YWCA: the YWCA focused more on fostering community among its members. For example, in 1913, when both Ys had increased their participation in social service in keeping with the priorities of their national boards, the university YMCA stated two organizational goals: "first, to promulgate and spread Christian ideals among University men; second, to lead men to give expression to those ideals through service to their fellowmen." The same year, however, the YWCA articulated not two but three goals: Bible study, social service, and the stimulation of social life among university women. The poorer support for women's social lives at the university led women to serve their own before they could serve others. In this way, California women focused less energy on service in the public sphere and the associated debates about women's proper roles there.[59]

Thus, when these female students did look toward service in the world, they did not think in particularly gendered terms. Perusing California's YWCA publication, the *Association Record*, indicates that only outside speakers, not undergraduate members of the YWCA, made any statements on the significance of students' sex. YWCA students themselves wrote instead about such topics as the need for missionaries abroad, for social service within the United States, and for cultivating one's personal relationship with God, all in ways that could have just as easily graced a YMCA publication. Just as did YMCA men, these college women envisioned their future selves as "filling positions of trust and honor, where they w[ould] be able to influence many lives for good." Meanwhile, however, California's YMCA men—like YMCA men elsewhere—understood their service activities as an extension of their male character; members wrote articles about the association's activities that included "Holding a He-Job in China" and "Social Service—A Man-Sized Drink."[60]

Thus, in many ways, student religious life at California reinforced the administration's moral goals for student formation: it tracked men and women into single-sex groups for service to the world. Yet it undercut those goals too, by sending a clear message to men but not to women that sex ought to determine which type of service best fit a particular Christian. When students looked toward graduation, the different messages women and men received from university administrators would certainly ring loudly in their ears, and many would follow the same broad vocational patterns as graduates of Michigan and other coeducational universities. But the women of California involved with the YWCA would also graduate with a sense of self, grounded in their religious identity, that dictated service to the world,

but not which type. The same would be true of Michigan women who considered the parallel nature of women's and men's service there. Finally, some men would profoundly take to heart the call to social service issued by the YMCA and would join their sisters in pursuing that road as a full-time vocation rather than walk a more established path to power and influence.

Conclusion

On the whole, however, across all types of higher educational institutions, student participation in voluntary religious activities—particularly those under the auspices of the YMCA and YWCA—reinforced administrators' sex-specific moral visions. Morally serious students in these organizations demonstrated independent thought, but overall indicated that they internalized their institution's dominant moral message. Within student religious life, the shift to horizontal spirituality and its accompanying increase in gendered moral formation gained additional impetus from the Progressive mood, and particularly the impulse toward efficiency. The ethical impulse to do immediate, concrete good dovetailed with the general spirit of admiration for businesses that ran like clockwork and frustration with government that did not. Administrators and students alike embraced the belief that specialization without duplication would bring about as much good as possible as soon as possible.

At single-sex institutions, efficiency repeatedly meant consolidating religious and service activities within a single organization that could coordinate them from the center, whether the Philadelphian Society, the Phillips Brooks House, the Radcliffe Guild, the Wellesley College Christian Association, or the Bryn Mawr Christian Association. Because the primary desired result of religion was now greater service to the community, it did not make sense to let theological differences—mainly related to personal piety—interfere with accomplishing that goal. Moving to a single umbrella organization in turn reinforced commitment to expressions of interpersonal spirituality because, unlike with doctrinal particulars linked to Godward spirituality, both theological liberals and theological conservatives embraced the importance of service. Increased emphasis within religious groups on rightly relating to the human community in turn focused increased attention on the question of how women and men respectively could best contribute to the social order.

At coeducational universities, the opposite side of the coin purchased the same product. There, the efficiency argument led not to centralization but

to specialization: separating women's and men's activities into a separate YWCA and YMCA to best minister to their unique needs and harness their unique strengths. Thus, even in institutions where the opportunity for joint service between women and men could have led to a less gendered ethical vision, separating the sexes for the sake of more effective religious work reinforced the idea that the two sexes made different moral contributions.

Nevertheless, the combined message students heard from campus administrators and leaders of the Ys and other student religious groups was not monolithic. Space existed for other moral ideals, particularly within voluntary religious societies. The dominant notes of the moral message emerging from their spiritual formation channeled students into male or female areas, or styles of service, but counterpoints within that message would inspire some women to draw on these beliefs to stretch the boundaries of useful work available to them and would inspire some men to pursue service in areas increasingly gendered female.

Conclusion
Trajectories and Trade-offs

> Jesus said unto him, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment. And the second is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets."
>
> —Matthew 22:37–40 KJV

Supporting "the Great War" consumed the moral energy of college campuses around the nation. After the war's end, these campuses witnessed a very different moral climate from the one that had held sway during the Progressive Era. During the war, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) had temporarily gained in prestige and power because their international ties proved ideal for aiding the war effort. Afterward, however, they increasingly encountered a student body that valued social advancement above social reform. College men and women were now more interested in socializing with one another than in splitting into reform-oriented subcultures. And by the 1920s, the public mind clearly linked a college education not only with moral leadership in government and the professions but also, as Daniel Clark has demonstrated, with success in business.[1]

To manage the greater variety of students seeking occupational credentials, educational administrations took back the oversight of extracurricular life that they had in part ceded to the YMCA and YWCA (otherwise known as the "Ys"). To increasing numbers of Jewish and Catholic students, shifting intellectual winds added increasing numbers of agnostics. In this environment, the Protestant Christian associations could no longer lay claim as easily to being a unifying moral force on campus. The YMCA and YWCA joined a host of new denominational chaplaincies under administrative

supervision as only a few among a myriad of options—religious and otherwise—available to students in an ever more diverse and fragmented extracurricular life. Meanwhile, the curricular center of moral formation had long since been moving away from courses on doctrine or even the scientific study of religion toward courses on science or, increasingly, the humanities. By the 1920s, Protestant Christianity would still inform the thought of many university leaders, but would not dominate moral discourse within either the curriculum or the extracurriculum.[2]

All these changes would produce a new type of connection between gender and student moral formation, but one that grew out of the approach of the Progressive Era. During that earlier period, the moral goals of colleges and businesses had begun to coincide. Leaders of men's colleges and some leaders of coeducational universities, all of whom embraced horizontal spirituality, argued that their institutions' contribution to society lay in forming the sort of men who could wisely direct the nation, whether in government or through leadership in prominent occupations. They maintained that higher education fostered in men initiative and teamwork, self-discipline and passion, broad-mindedness and focus. Businesses, for their part, began to hire college graduates in larger numbers to capitalize on these strengths and to identify themselves with the aura surrounding higher education—particularly the public-mindedness associated with an institution that had historically trained men for the classic professions of law, ministry, and medicine. By the 1920s, the partnership between college and business was an established fact.[3]

After the reforming spirit of the Progressive Era expended itself in World War I, one ethical ideal that remained on campus was the morality of the American Dream: the democratic opportunity that college supposedly provided to improve one's lot. But the origin of the college-business partnership in the gender ideology of Progressive Era colleges meant that women, as well as men outside of white middle-class Protestantism, found their opportunities seriously curtailed because they did not meld as easily into mainstream college life. Private men's colleges made this exclusion particularly explicit: starting in the 1920s, selective admissions—based on ethnicity as well as academic talent—sought to keep the student body small enough and homogeneous enough to socialize students into the behaviors and outlook conducive to worldly influence. Thus, once the Progressive spirit no longer flowed through campus, its detritus limited the scope of even a milder moral vision of college as a gateway to equal opportunity for economic and professional success.[4]

Meanwhile, by the 1920s, the separatist world that incubated the desire in female collegians to effect social reform through a service profession was

in decline. Women who came of age during the Progressive Era had always known the expanded opportunities newly available to their sex. They thus increasingly sought to participate in the same activities as their male peers and likewise questioned the necessity of choosing between career and marriage. Yet men's assumptions still made it a rare attainment for these women to continue both throughout a lifetime.[5]

The nation had changed significantly since the 1830s, when American women first entered collegiate education. Both the antebellum period and later the Progressive Era were hotbeds of reform, but different environments produced different crops. Educational reformers in both periods sought to enlist both sexes in the religious crusade of bringing the kingdom of God to earth, but in different ways. It can be difficult to judge exactly how a college education shaped graduates' later paths. Yet the disproportionate numbers of Oberlin and Mount Holyoke graduates in ministry, missions, and teaching, and later of educated women and men in general who participated in Progressive Era reform movements, certainly suggest a significant correspondence between collegiate moral formation and later commitments.

In the antebellum era, the evangelical pragmatism of the founders of the most advanced education for women intended to increase the number of workers in the cause of world evangelism by extending training to women, poorer students, and occasionally African Americans that was similar to what was historically available to elite white men. Many assumed that women and men would evangelize in different locations—the schoolhouse versus the church—but the lines often blurred on the mission field in the American West and abroad. These educators disagreed on the extent of innate differences between the sexes and the degree to which these differences ought to shape their respective contributions to the Protestant religious project. At the end of the day, however, their focus remained on forming Christians, rather than specifically women or men, equipped to spread the gospel by whatever means.

For evangelical pragmatists, forming Christians meant facilitating conversion. The kingdom of God would come about through the conversion of large numbers of individual people hearing the preaching and teaching of those who had themselves been converted. Converted people also worked to change social morals, as in the case of temperance, and even sometimes social structures, as in the case of abolitionism. But educators believed all of this preaching, teaching, and reforming flowed out of a new heart of faith toward God. This overarching emphasis on vertical spirituality meant that

students imbibed the message that relating rightly to God trumped social expectations, including gender ideology. For both practical and ideological reasons, students at these institutions often remained within the general bounds of gender expectations, but their sense of self derived not so heavily from their sex as from their religious status. Consequently, many women pushed the boundaries, and many men, such as Charles Finney, supported them. Of note are the scores of unmarried missionaries sent out by Mount Holyoke as well as the preachers like Antoinette Brown Blackwell and vocal abolitionists and feminists like Lucy Stone produced by Oberlin.

Meanwhile, at nineteenth-century men's colleges and universities, often denominational ones like Princeton, educators thought the kingdom came more quietly. They believed that Christianity would grow and the nation would thrive as these colleges continued in their traditional role of training leaders for church and state. Through this training, students would develop both the personal faith to serve as a moral compass and the mental acuity to fulfill their responsibilities with excellence. Educators at these institutions also frequently embraced a conversion-oriented spirituality but did not spin out its logic in the same way as evangelical pragmatists. Hence, on the one hand, heads of men's colleges did not seek to tailor their training to men; rather, they simply sought to graduate intelligent Christians. On the other hand, they also did not seek to mobilize as many people as possible to spread the Christian message, but rather admitted only men. These educators believed social change came from the top down, so they trained the hearts and minds of the future ministers who would preach and the secular leaders who would serve as Christian examples. Significant numbers of graduates from these institutions would indeed take one or the other of these paths.

Later, the Protestant modernists who came to power in the leading colleges and universities of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era rejected their forebears' religious vision. They sought to make a national name for their institutions by distancing them from their now-limiting evangelical, often denominational heritage. A key component of accomplishing this feat was shifting student moral formation from more doctrinaire vertical spirituality to more ethical horizontal spirituality. Greater focus on interpersonal ethics fostered greater focus on the significance of gender differences—right at the time when higher education for American women really took off. Institutions of this era therefore either embraced or rejected this trend and then centered their identities and moral programs on the sex of their resulting constituency.

For religious modernists, the perfect social order of the kingdom of God would come about through the combination of individual character growth

with social reform. Behaving rightly required commitment, not conversion, and a good society arose more from piety toward one's neighbor than from piety toward God. Hence, educators of this theological persuasion placed greater emphasis on training students to fulfill particular roles within the social order, roles tied tightly by the thinking of the time to students' sex—and, among many of these educators, also to an elite class ideal. As with the earlier evangelical pragmatist educators, a few exceptions existed here too: educators such as M. Carey Thomas at Bryn Mawr and Harry Hutchins at the University of Michigan marketed their institutions as promoting a gender ideal, but in their case an egalitarian one. Nevertheless, the emphasis most often fell on the other side. Hence, colleges and universities often sought to channel women into activities associated with feminine strengths: not only teaching but also settlement work, social work, nursing, or other service professions. At the same time, they encouraged men to continue to focus their efforts to do good within traditional locations of power associated with manhood—such as government, business, or educational leadership—rather than in the less well-established service fields.

Thus, some of the tensions within Progressivism can be traced in part to tensions in the moral formation of college students during this era. Students often echoed the language of their leaders in both the administration and campus religious groups, and many made choices on graduation shaped by these calls to service. Secondary messages motivated some women to push into traditionally male arenas of service and some men to forsake those arenas for new approaches to reform increasingly associated with women. Much more often, however, graduates aligned with the primary moral message emerging from students' spiritual formation, namely, that educated women and educated men were suited for different types, or styles, of service. This fact contributed to the gendering of Progressive reform movements and also liberal Protestantism more broadly.

All these moral visions had their limits. Evangelical pragmatism gave female students a sense of self that incorporated their sex, but also transcended it. It opened up new possibilities for a meaningful life of service. It made those possibilities available not only to wealthy women but to poorer ones as well—and sometimes even to black women. Likewise, this philosophy opened higher education to disadvantaged men, and encouraged the men at these institutions and in these networks to facilitate greater opportunities for women. But because of their totalizing religious nature, institutions run by evangelical pragmatists could be challenging environments for students outside that religious fold.

Meanwhile, antebellum men's colleges and universities understood themselves to prepare men for excellence in multiple areas of public life. They provided mental training believed to make their minds capable of any future work and spiritual training designed to convert their hearts toward love for God. In this way, they encouraged students to make their own vocational choices, in cooperation with personal divine guidance. Moral formation at these institutions therefore resembled the type conducted by evangelical pragmatists, but the religious tone at men's colleges and universities was typically not as intense—and hence more comfortable for students outside evangelical Protestantism. Also, the fact that these institutions served the church as well as the state frequently induced them to offer scholarships for poorer men, as those preparing for the ministry often were. Still, the long-standing association of serving the state with training the enfranchised meant that only the elite in terms of sex, and generally race as well, had access to their education.

Later, the primarily ethical orientation of modernist spirituality could much more easily incorporate women and men who did not identify as Protestants into its vision. As embodied at state universities, it also welcomed poorer students and sometimes minorities. Furthermore, modernist spirituality encouraged not only men but also women to view a variety of types of future work in the world as a form of religious service. The specificity with which women's colleges and coeducational universities envisioned female graduates' work helped these women in turn envision and pursue new possibilities for a meaningful life of service beyond the traditional areas of teaching and mothering—especially at a time when many professions remained resistant to women. Still, the fact that moral formation of this type grounded women's identities in their sex in a more rigid manner simultaneously limited their sense of future possibilities. It likewise steered men toward working in established professions and volunteering on the side rather than exploring full-time employment in a new service field. In addition, modernists' moral vision lacked the power to motivate many men's colleges to open to women, or many women's colleges to make provision for poorer students.

Ultimately, the fractured collegiate subcultures of the 1920s more easily incorporated students of different beliefs, backgrounds, and interests—though many institutions still restricted initial admission to one sex, race, or class. Additionally, that decade's lack of a coherent moral vision for the uses of a college education effectively encouraged considering a wider range of future employment opportunities. Yet the loss of the ethical edge that character-

ized the various earlier campus climates provided less motivation to orient education toward service and also less impetus to open new fields to women.

Thus, no college environment is morally neutral, including those that focus on preparing students for jobs and decline to cast a grander vision. Rather, all colleges and universities communicate some moral message to students, even if that message is that education does not bestow on students any particular civic responsibility. We would therefore do well to reflect on the implications—from the strengths to the trade-offs to the potential for unintended consequences—of the moral commitments exhibited by our own institutions of higher education.

Notes

Introduction

1. Highlights from the extensive scholarship on changes in American higher education during this period include: Roger Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014); Andrew Jewett, *Science, Democracy, and the American University: From the Civil War to the Cold War* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Scott Gelber, *The University and the People: Envisioning American Higher Education in an Era of Populist Protest* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011); Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: Colleges and Community in the "Age of the University,"* 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2005); James Turner, *Language, Religion, Knowledge: Past and Present* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003); and Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). On the expansion of women's higher education, see Christine D. Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era: Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Andrea G. Radke-Moss, *Bright Epoch: Women and Coeducation in the American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008); Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985); and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984).

2. Alice Freeman Palmer, *Why Go to College? An Address* (New York, Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell and Company, 1897), 31. "Truth for Christ and the Church" was the early motto of Harvard, later changed to simply "Truth." See the original shield in Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1935), 3.

3. For modern biographies of Alice Freeman Palmer, see Ruth Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993); Lori Kenschaft, *Reinventing Marriage: The Love and Work of Alice Freeman Palmer and George Herbert Palmer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005); and by her husband George Herbert Palmer, *The Life of Alice Freeman Palmer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908). For her involvement at Wellesley, see also Patricia Ann Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 19–49. On Lucy Sprague Mitchell, see Joyce Antler,

Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Woman (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987). See also her autobiography, Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Two Lives: The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953).

4. On the changing role of religion in the academy, see David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Christian Smith, ed., *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests and Conflicts in the Secularization of American Public Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Jon H. Roberts and James Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield, eds., *The Secularization of the Academy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). For a work that bridges historical and contemporary debates over the role of religion in collegiate moral education, see Perry Glanzer and Todd Ream, *Christianity and Moral Identity in Higher Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

5. Christopher J. Lucas, *American Higher Education: A History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 213; YMCA Report/Prospectus, 1914/15, Box 6, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, University of Michigan Archives, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan; Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890–1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010); Geiger, *History of American Higher Education*, 379–94.

6. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 2; Victoria Bissell Brown, *The Education of Jane Addams* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelly and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995). For an excellent overview of scholarship on the connection between women's higher education and the professions, see Nancy Woloch, *Women and the American Experience*, 5th ed. (New York: McGraw Hill, 2011), 279–82.

7. For a recent commentary on the need for historians of American religion and historians of American women to integrate one another's scholarship more, see Catherine Brekus, "Searching for Women in Narratives of American Religious History," in *The Religious History of American Women: Reimagining the Past*, ed. Catherine Brekus (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 1–34. Brekus's words unfortunately remain timely: five years later, the December 2012 state-of-the-field essay on women and gender in the *Journal of American History* still virtually ignored scholarship on women's religion. See Cornelia H. Dayton and Lisa Levenstein, "The Big Tent of U.S. Women's and Gender History: A State of the Field," *Journal of American History* 99 (December 2012): 793–817. This book's approach also demonstrates the benefits of taking Linda Eisenmann's trenchant challenge to analyze women's educational history not only through the lens of access to education but also through the lenses of institution building, networks of reformers, religious motivations, and the power of financial realities. See Linda Eisenmann, "Creating

a Framework for Interpreting U.S. Women's Educational History: Lessons from Historical Lexicography," *History of Education* 30 (2001): 453–70. At the 2015 History of Education Society Annual Conference, the speakers on the panel "Historiographical Trends in U.S. Women's and Gender History: Revisiting Eisenmann's 'Creating a Framework for Interpreting U.S. Women's Educational History' " noted the many ways in which her call has yet to be fulfilled.

8. On gender in postbellum southern higher education, see Myers, *University Coeducation*; and Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*. On gender in Catholic higher education, see Kathleen Sprows Cummings, *New Women of the Old Faith: Gender and American Catholicism in the Progressive Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009), 59–100; Tracy Schier and Cynthia Russett, eds., *Catholic Women's Colleges in America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002); and Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995). On gender in historically black colleges, see Stephanie Y. Evans, *Black Women in the Ivory Tower: An Intellectual History, 1850–1954* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2007). On diversity in higher education during this era, see Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005); and Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 155. Wellesley was the only elite women's college to admit blacks at this time. On evangelical colleges in the twentieth century, see William C. Ringenberg and Mark Noll, *The Christian College: A History of Protestant Education in America*, 2nd ed. (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic Press, 2006). Jewish Yeshiva College first began offering the bachelor's degree in 1828.

9. See, for example, Geiger, *History of American Higher Education*; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*; Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*; and Veysey, *Emergence of the American University*.

Chapter 1

1. For detailed overviews of the political and economic turmoil of the early United States, see Daniel Walker Howe, *What God Hath Wrought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007); and Sean Wilentz, *The Rise of American Democracy: Jefferson to Lincoln* (New York: Norton, 2005).

2. Roger Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

3. On the expansion of women's higher education, see Christine D. Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era: Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

4. On the concept of separate spheres and biological differences, see Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997); and Cynthia Eagle Russett, *Sexual Science: The Victorian Construction of Womanhood* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989). On republican motherhood, see Margaret Nash, "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 171–91; and Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University

of North Carolina Press, 1980). Nash argues that "republican motherhood" is an overly restrictive analytical category if we understand it as an ideal of female influence strictly limited to the mothering role.

5. On the nature of antebellum higher education, see Geiger, *History of American Higher Education*.

6. Highlights of the scholarship on the "secularization" of American higher education include David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Christian Smith, ed., *The Secular Revolution: Power, Interests and Conflicts in the Secularization of American Public Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003); Jon H. Roberts and James Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); and George M. Marsden and Bradley J. Longfield, eds., *The Secularization of the Academy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

7. For overviews of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century religious liberalization and its causes, see David Mislin, *Saving Faith: Making Religious Pluralism an American Value at the Dawn of the Secular Age* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2015); Matthew Bowman, *The Urban Pulpit: New York City and the Fate of Liberal Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Elesha Coffman, *The Christian Century and the Rise of the Protestant Mainline* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013); David Hollinger, *After Cloven Tongues of Fire: Protestant Liberalism in Modern American History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013); George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth Century American Evangelicalism, 1870–1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); and William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).

8. For Catholics and Jews in American higher education, see Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 1–136; David A. Hollinger, *Science, Jews, and Secular Culture: Studies in Mid-Twentieth-Century American Intellectual History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Philip Gleason, *Contending with Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); and Paul Ritterband and Harold Wechsler, *Jewish Learning in American Universities: The First Century* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994).

9. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*; and Christian Smith, ed., *Secular Revolution*.

10. Roberts and Turner, *Sacred and the Secular University*; and Reuben, *Making of the Modern University*.

11. Setran, *College "Y."*

12. The terms "decision for the Christian life" and "Master" recur repeatedly through modernist writings, especially those of the early twentieth-century Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). On the social gospel, see Heath W. Carter, *Union Made: Working People*

and the Rise of Social Christianity in Chicago (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015); Bowman, *The Urban Pulpit*; Gary Scott Smith, *The Search for Social Salvation: Social Christianity and America, 1880–1925* (New York: Lexington Books, 2000); and Susan Curtis, *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

13. See Bowman, *The Urban Pulpit*. Likewise, evangelicals in this narrative roughly correlate with the group Timothy Gloege refers to more precisely as "conservative evangelicals." See Timothy E. W. Gloege, *Guaranteed Pure: The Moody Bible Institute, Business, and the Making of Modern Evangelicalism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015), 13. The classic definition of evangelical belief in historical scholarship is the "Bebbington quadrilateral": the need for spiritual conversion, "particular regard for the Bible," "activism" flowing from faith, and a focus on the atoning death of Jesus on the cross. See David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (New York: Routledge, 1989), 2–3.

14. For a call for scholarship that investigates the gendered nature of religiously inspired Progressive reform activities, see Wendy J. Deichmann Edwards and Carolyn De Swarte Gifford, eds., *Gender and the Social Gospel* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003).

15. This paragraph appears in slightly altered form in Andrea L. Turpin, "Memories of Mary," *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education* 28 (2011): 35.

16. David B. Potts, "American Colleges in the Nineteenth Century: From Localism to Denominationalism," *History of Education Quarterly* 11 (1971): 363–80. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: Colleges and Community in the "Age of the University,"* 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2005) outlines the overall dynamics of denominationalism and localism in late-nineteenth-century American colleges.

17. Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 43–47; and Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era*, 10. "Western" was often used to include the states we now call "midwestern." On the expansion of coeducation in the West, see Andrea G. Radke-Moss, *Bright Epoch: Women and Coeducation in the American West* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2008). Although the expansion of women's higher education in the United States had some sources unique to it (and it led the world in collegiate education for women by more than thirty years), certain similar social and financial pressures led to women's admittance to European colleges in the late nineteenth century as well. See Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era;* and Katharina Rowold, *The Educated Woman: Minds, Bodies, and Women's Higher Education in Britain, Germany, and Spain, 1865–1914* (New York: Routledge, 2010). On the effect of the Civil War on American higher education, see Michael David Cohen, *Reconstructing the Campus: Higher Education and the American Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012).

18. For recent interpretations of middle-class Progressive Era reform, see Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009); Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003); and Daniel T. Rodgers, *Atlantic Crossings: Social Politics in a Progressive Age* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1998).

19. Data from the turn of the century indicates that college women married at around the rate of 50 percent as compared with about 90 percent of the general population, although this statistic does not take into account the fact that more college women belonged to the richer classes, which had a lower marriage rate overall. See Solomon, *In The Company of Educated Women*, 119–22. On areas of Progressive reform dominated by the New Woman, see Maureen Flanagan, *Seeing with Their Hearts: Chicago Women and the Vision of the Good City, 1871–1933* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002); Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Robyn Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: The Evolution of Social Welfare Ideology in the American Settlement Movement, 1883–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990); Ellen Fitzpatrick, *Endless Crusade: Women Social Scientists and Progressive Reform* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1982); and Elisabeth Perry, "Men Are from the Gilded Age, Women Are from the Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 1 (January 2002): 25–48.

20. On Progressive Era masculinity, see Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012); Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890–1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010); John Pettegrew, *Brutes in Suits: Male Sensibility in America, 1890–1920* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007); Kristin L. Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

21. Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

22. On the feminization of American Protestantism, and passim, see Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of America Religion 1800–1860," *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1976); Ann Douglas, *The Feminization of American Culture* (New York: Knopf, 1977); Gail Bederman, "'The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough': The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911–1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-Class Protestantism," *American Quarterly* 41 (September 1989): 432–65; Harry S. Stout and Catherine Brekus, "A New England Congregation: Center Church, New Haven, 1636–1989," in *American Congregations,* 2 vols., ed. James P. Wind and James W. Lewis (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 1:40–45; Susan Juster, "The Spirit and the Flesh: Gender, Language, and Sexuality in American Protestantism," in *New Directions in American Religious History*, ed. Harry S. Stout and D. G. Hart (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Ann Taves, "Feminization Revisited: Protestantism and Gender at the Turn of the Century," in *Women and Twentieth-Century Protestantism*, ed. Margaret Lamberts Bendroth and Virginia Lieson Brereton (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002),

304–24; and Patrick Pasture, "Beyond the Feminization Thesis: Gendering the History of Christianity in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries," in *Beyond the Feminization Thesis: Gender and Christianity in Modern Europe*, ed. Patrick Pasture (Leuven, Belgium: University of Leuven, 2012), 7–34.

23. For a treatment of some of the connections between religion and class in the more recent years of American higher education, see Christian J. Churchill and Gerald E. Levy, *The Enigmatic Academy: Class, Bureaucracy, and Religion in American Education* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2012).

Chapter 2

1. Zilpah Grant to Joseph Emerson, November 11, 1829, printed in Linda Thayer Guilford, *The Use of a Life: Memorials of Mrs. Z. P. Banister* (New York: American Tract Society, 1885), 142–45.

2. Mary Lyon to Zilpah Grant, March 1, 1833, printed in Edward Hitchcock, ed., *The Power of Christian Benevolence Illustrated in the Life and Labors of Mary Lyon* (Northampton, MA: Hopkins, Bridgman, 1851), 178.

3. On republican motherhood, see Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980). On the influence of the market revolution on women's education, see especially Margaret Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780–1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005). On women in the academy movement, see also Mary Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak: Women, Education, and Public Life in America's Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); and Nancy Beadie and Kimberley Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools: Two Hundred Years of Independent Academies in the United States, 1727–1925* (New York: RoutledgeFalmer, 2002).

4. Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 26, 44.

5. Emma Willard established a well-respected female seminary shortly before Beecher or Lyon: Troy Female Seminary in 1821. Willard, however, innovated only in demanding excellence in the accepted hybrid curriculum for women. On Willard's influence, see Anne Firor Scott, "The Ever-Widening Circle: The Diffusion of Feminist Values from the Troy Female Seminary, 1820–1872," *History of Education Quarterly* 19 (Spring 1979): 3–25.

6. On Wheaton, see Paul C. Helmreich, *Wheaton College, 1834–1857: A Massachusetts Family Affair* (New York: Cornwall, 2002), 37–60. The best biography of Beecher remains Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Catharine Beecher: A Study in American Domesticity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1973). Also containing good analysis of Beecher's life and thought is Jeanne Boydston, Mary Kelley, and Anne Margolis, *Limits of Sisterhood: The Beecher Sisters on Women's Rights and Women's Sphere* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988). On her upbringing, see also Debby Applegate, *The Most Famous Man in America: The Biography of Henry Ward Beecher* (New York: Doubleday, 2006). The best complete biography of Lyon is Elizabeth Alden Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke: Opening the Gates* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1979); and the classic treatment of Mount Holyoke's origins is Kathryn Kish Sklar, "The Founding of Mount Holyoke College," in *Women of*

America: A History, ed. Carol Ruth Berkin and Mary Beth Norton (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1979), 177–201. The first half of the more recent Amanda Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997) is also an excellent treatment of Lyon's life.

7. For Beecher as embodying the liberal arts reformer, see Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*, 7–10.

8. On domesticity, see the classic studies: Barbara Welter, *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976); and Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780–1835*, 2nd ed. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997). On women and reform, see, for example, Anne Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

9. Sklar, *Catharine Beecher,* remains the classic in this regard. In her convictions, Beecher overlaid an emphasis on the nurturing role of women onto the teaching of the liberal Christian minister Horace Bushnell. See Horace Bushnell, *Discourses on Christian Nurture* (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1847); Catharine Beecher, *Letters on the Difficulties of Religion* (Hartford: Belknap and Hamersley, 1836); Catharine Beecher, *Common Sense Applied to Religion, or, The Bible and the People* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1857). For Beecher's personal account of her religious journey, see Beecher, introduction to *Common Sense Applied to Religion*, xv–xxxv.

10. Catharine Beecher, *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education, Presented to the Trustees of the Hartford Female Seminary, and Published at Their Request* (Hartford: Packard and Butler, 1829), 4, 43–53.

11. See Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*.

12. For a good overview of the influence of New Divinity theology on Mary Lyon, see Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*, and Joseph A. Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 87–107.

13. On Samuel Hopkins and New Divinity thought in general, see Joseph Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1981).

14. What I term "evangelical pragmatism" bears no relation to the late nineteenth-century philosophical movement of pragmatism. I mean it rather to refer to a pragmatic cast of mind in pursuit of evangelical goals. For another overview of differences and similarities between Lyon and Beecher, see Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*, 106–10. Although Nash notes that Lyon believed both sexes should renounce material comfort, she does not clarify the essential difference that unlike many other female reformers, Lyon did not believe in women's moral superiority.

15. Mary Lyon, "New England Female Seminary for Teachers" circular, Summer 1832, printed in Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 164–67. Hitchcock's memoir is the primary source for information on the life of Mary Lyon. It was compiled by Professor Edward Hitchcock of Amherst College, one of the Mount Holyoke trustees and a longtime friend and admirer of Mary Lyon. The work consists of

letters primarily from Lyon, but occasionally from others as well, cited in full or in part, and interspersed with explanatory commentary supplied by five close associates: Hannah White, who assisted Lyon early in her teaching career; Zilpah Grant Bannister, who served as Lyon's coprincipal at Ipswich Female Seminary in the years before Lyon founded Mount Holyoke; Eunice Caldwell Cowles, who taught with Lyon at Ipswich and was assistant principal of Mount Holyoke its first year; Mary Whitman Eddy, the teacher and associate principal under Lyon who took over as principal immediately on Lyon's death; and Hitchcock himself (iii–v). Most of Lyon's letters are found only in this memoir, as the contributors seem to have thrown out many of the originals after including them in the text.

16. Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 6–23; Nancy Beadie, "Internal Improvement: The Structure and Culture of Academy Expansion in New York State in the Antebellum Era, 1820–1860," in Beadie and Tolley, eds., *Chartered Schools*, 89–115 at 101; Mary Lyon to Zilpah Grant, March 1, 1833, printed in Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 178.

17. Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*, 31–32. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*, 41–42, notes that in the early republic "ornamental" education did not always mean frivolous and could be used to describe the education of both men and women. Many nineteenth-century reformers nevertheless polemically dismissed it as social climbing.

18. Beecher, *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education*; Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 59–104. On Beecher's years at Hartford, see Frances Huehls, "Teaching as Philanthropy: Catharine Beecher and the Hartford Female Seminary," in *Women and Philanthropy in Education*, ed. Andrea Walton (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 39–59. On the traditional nature of instruction in social accomplishments, see Kelley, *Learning to Stand and Speak*, 69–73.

19. Mount Holyoke College Archives, Mary Lyon Collection (hereafter, MHC Archives, ML Collection), Series A, Catharine Beecher to Mary Lyon, July 10, 1828, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/mhc/lyon/a/2/ff01/280710/transcript/01.htm.

20. Catharine Beecher to Zilpah Grant, n.d., printed in Guilford, *Use of a Life*, 141–42; Beecher, *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education*, 40–50, 59, 70–75; Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 90–93.

21. Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 90–93; Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 57–60; Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 129–30; Catharine Beecher to Zilpah Grant, n.d., printed in Guilford, *Use of a Life*, 141–42. For a contemporary description of the problem of impermanence, see Eliza Adams to Mary Lyon, November 28, 1833, printed in Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 82.

22. Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 92; Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 38–40.

23. Zilpah Grant to Joseph Emerson, November 11, 1829, printed in Guilford, *Use of a Life*, 142–45; Lyman Beecher to Zilpah Grant, November 12, 1829, printed in Guilford, *Use of a Life*, 145–48; Grant to Emerson, n.d., printed in Guilford, *Use of a Life*, 148–49; Guilford, *Use of a Life*, 149. On Grant's polish, see Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 38–43. Beecher continued to admire Grant, and when Beecher later in life sought to educate rich and poor together, Grant lent her support by serving on the board of Beecher's American Woman's Educational Association. See Guilford, *Use of a Life*, 294–95; and Beecher, *Common Sense Applied to Religion*, 357.

24. Beecher, *Suggestions Respecting Improvements in Education*, 72–76; Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 93–94.

25. Catharine Beecher, *Educational Reminiscences and Suggestions* (New York: J. B. Ford, 1874), 82–86; Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 107–21, 129–32.

26. Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 158–60.

27. Ibid., 293; Lyon to Grant, February 24, 1833, printed in Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 175–76; Mary Lyon, "To the Friends and Patrons of Ipswich Female Seminary" circular, reprinted in Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 187–89; Joseph Emerson, *Discourse, Delivered at the Dedication of the Seminary Hall in Saugus, Jan. 15, 1822* (Boston: Samuel T. Armstrong and Crocker and Brewster; New York: John P. Haven, 1822), 27.

28. Mary Lyon to Hannah White, August 1, 1834, printed in Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 198–99.

29. Mary Lyon, "Tendencies of the Principles Embraced and the System Adopted in the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary," 1839, reprinted in Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 299–308, esp. 304; Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 289. For an overview of the nature and types of American communitarian experiments, see Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815–1860,* rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 39–75.

30. MHC Archives, ML Collection, Series A, Catharine Beecher to Mary Lyon, June 26, 1836, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/mhc/lyon/a/2/ff07/360626/01.htm; Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 129–32; Mary Lyon to Catharine Beecher, July 1, 1836, printed in Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*, 225–29.

31. Mary Lyon to Catharine Beecher, July 1, 1836. For Lyon's fund-raising techniques, see Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 159.

32. MHC Archives, ML Collection, Series A, Mary Lyon to Eunice Caldwell, July 3, 1836, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/mhc/lyon/a/1/ff8/360703/01.htm. For an overview of the Beecher-Lyon exchange, see also Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 156–59, although Green overlooks Lyon's letter to Caldwell recounting Beecher's response. Lyon had tried earlier to secure Beecher's public support in 1834, but what Beecher had offered was that Lyon could control any proceeds that resulted from helping to sell Beecher's new textbook (except for an unspecified amount Beecher would reserve for her own livelihood)—and Beecher wanted the transaction kept secret. Beecher had nonetheless written Lyon that she approved of educating the class of women on whom Lyon was focused, again because doing so would expand the female teaching base. She did not appear to know at that time about Lyon's proposed low teacher salaries. See MHC Archives, ML Collection, Series A, Catherine Beecher to Mary Lyon, October 15, 1834, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/mhc/lyon/a/2/ff06/341015/01.htm; and MHC Archives, ML Collection, Series A, Beecher to Lyon, October 27, 1834, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/mhc/lyon/a/2/ff06/341027/01.htm.

33. Edward Hitchcock, *The Power of Christian Benevolence Illustrated in the Life and Labors of Mary Lyon: A New Edition, Abridged and in Some Parts Enlarged* (New York: American Tract Society, 1858), 228 (all other citations refer to the original 1851 edi-

tion); Hitchcock, *Power of Christian Benevolence*; Fidelia Fisk, *Recollections of Mary Lyon, with Selections from Her Instructions to the Pupils in Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1866); Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*. Particularly rich analysis of the school's religious culture can be found in Conforti, *Jonathan Edwards, Religious Tradition, and American Culture*, 87–107; and Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*, 29–67.

34. Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 242, 251–52; Sarah D. (Locke) Stow, *History of Mount Holyoke Seminary, South Hadley, Mass. during Its First Half Century, 1837–1887* (Springfield, MA: Springfield Printing, 1887), 19–21, 276–78; Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 265.

35. For an overview of student life at other colleges at the time, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Culture from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

36. See particularly Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*; and Porterfield, *Mary Lyon and the Mount Holyoke Missionaries*.

37. On student life, see Arthur C. Cole, *A Hundred Years of Mount Holyoke College: The Evolution of an Educational Ideal* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1940); Mary Ella Brown, *Fourscore Plus: The Autobiography of a Country Girl*, typescript (ca. 1940), Mount Holyoke College Archives (hereafter, MHCA), 60–63; and Mary Stuart Webster, 1855 Journal, copied by Ada Snell, MHCA. Emphasis original. It is possible that the literary society was a secret society. A student missionary society formed at Mount Holyoke in 1878 remained secret for ten years despite having at least thirty-four members at one time, according to its records. Also, a student mentions a secret society—possibly the literary society and possibly separate—in 1861, some of whose members were implicated in writing a burlesque, which could have been one of the types of writing contributed to the literary society's magazine. Given the description of the members of the 1861 secret society as "wild girls," however, I am inclined to believe it was a separate group, whether or not the faculty was aware of the existence of the literary society.

38. Mary Stuart Webster, 1855 Journal, copied by Ada Snell, MHCA; Emily Dickinson to friend Abiah, South Hadley, January 17, 1848, cited in Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 249. Emphasis original.

39. Annie L. Lane, Typed Copy of Excerpts from Journal Edited by Charles Lane Hanson, 1953, MHCA; "Grand Missionary Swear-a-way. At Mt. Hol. Sem'y. Thanksgiving Evening. Nov. 21st, 1861," Seminary Literature, MHCA. Emphasis original.

40. "The Blue Laws of South Hadley," Seminary Literature, MHCA; Tiziana Rota, "Between 'True Women' and 'New Women': Mount Holyoke Students, 1837 to 1908" (PhD diss., University of Massachusetts, 1983).

41. On religious changes at Mount Holyoke as it shifted from seminary to college, see Andrea L. Turpin, "Memories of Mary: Interpretations of the Founder in the Secularization Process of Mount Holyoke Seminary and College, 1837–1937," *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education* 28 (2011): 33–61.

42. Two southern women's schools that may have offered a college-level course by this time would not serve as models either: Georgia Female College (1839) and Mary Sharp College in Tennessee (1853). The Civil War would so weaken southern

education that the first nationally prominent women's colleges were Vassar, Wellesley, and Smith—and their founders were more inclined to consider northern models of successful women's education. On southern women's education, see Christie Anne Farnham, *The Education of the Southern Belle: Higher Education and Student Socialization in the Antebellum South* (New York: New York University Press, 1994). The Civil War so weakened southern women's institutions financially and educationally that Lynn Gordon considers Progressive Era southern college women as pioneers rather than second generation. See Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 19, 39, 48–49.

43. Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 151–83, 217–26.

44. Ibid., 217–26; Beecher, *Educational Reminiscences and Suggestions*, 149–59.

45. Sklar, *Catharine Beecher*, 217–26; Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984), 30.

46. On the founding of Vassar see Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 28–41; and James Monroe Taylor, *Before Vassar Opened: A Contribution to the History of the Higher Education of Women in America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1914). On Lyon's curriculum, see Green, *Mary Lyon and Mount Holyoke*, 182–205. In opposition to Latin grammar schools that focused on college preparation, academy curricula centered on practical education for life, so included surveying and navigation for men, needlework for women, and training for clerical jobs for both. Nash, *Women's Education in the United States*, 35–52.

47. *First Annual Catalogue of the Officers and Students of Vassar Female College, 1865–66* (New York: John A. Gray and Green, 1866), 20; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 28–41.

48. Taylor, *Before Vassar Opened*, 138–40, 248–50; John Howard Raymond, *Vassar College. A College for Women, in Poughkeepsie, N.Y. A Sketch of Its Foundation, Aims, and Resources, and of the Development of Its Scheme of Instruction to the Present Time. Prepared by the President of the College, at the Request of the United States Commissioner of Education, May, 1873* (New York: S. W. Green, 1873), 19–31; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 28–41.

49. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 28–41; *First Annual Catalogue of Vassar Female College*, 42; *Twenty-Ninth Annual Catalogue of the Mount Holyoke Female Seminary, 1865–66* (Northampton, MA: Bridgman and Childs, 1866), 23; Beecher, *Educational Reminiscences and Suggestions*, 184–89. For discussion of expenses at women's colleges, see Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 62–66. *Mount Holyoke and Amherst Course Catalogues, 1837–65*, available on Five College Archives Digital Access Project, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/mhc/catalogs/.

50. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 42–55; Florence Converse, *The Story of Wellesley* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1919); *First Wellesley Announcement, December, 1874*, 4, Wellesley College Archives. For a detailed description of Wellesley's founding and evolution, see chapter 7.

51. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 69–81; "1874 Circular," *Annual Circulars: 1872–1909*, Smith College Archives, 7, http://clio.fivecolleges.edu/smith/catalogs/1874/index.shtml?page=1. For further financial information, see Sarah H. Gordon, "Smith College Students: The First Ten Classes, 1879–1888," *History of Education Quarterly* 15 (Summer 1975): 147–67. On Bryn Mawr, see chapter 8.

52. The eastern women's colleges remained expensive, and no major change in student social class is discernible between 1870 and 1920. See Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 5–6. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, gives an overview of the religious life of the colleges.

53. Mary Cookingham, "Bluestockings, Spinsters and Pedagogues: Women College Graduates, 1865–1910," *Population Studies* 38 (November 1984): 349–64, esp. 355; Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 83–85. The phenomenon of college often raising expectations for women students that society did not fulfill is discussed in Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 9–10.

Chapter 3

1. Robert Samuel Fletcher, *A History of Oberlin College from Its Foundation through the Civil War* (Oberlin, OH: Oberlin College, 1943), 58. Fletcher's magnum opus on Oberlin is the most comprehensive source on the institution during those years and connects events at the college with their wider historical context. A second work continues the story to 1917: John Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism at Oberlin College, 1866–1917* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1969). For Mary Lyon's conversion, see Edward Hitchcock, ed., *The Power of Christian Benevolence Illustrated in the Life and Labors of Mary Lyon* (Northampton, MA: Hopkins, Bridgman, 1851), 9; and Fidelia Fisk, *Recollections of Mary Lyon, with Selections from Her Instructions to the Pupils in Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1866), 32. I say "pseudocommunitarian" because Oberlin residents did not share property or engage in common labor such as joint farming. For an overview of the nature and types of American communitarian experiments, see Lawrence Foster, *Religion and Sexuality: The Shakers, the Mormons, and the Oneida Community* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984); and Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815–1860,* rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997), 39–75. I use the term "sending city on a hill" to capture the dual purpose of Oberlin as a model community (the traditional meaning of "city on a hill") and as a center for training Christian workers.

2. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 60–69, 76–84; J. J. Shipherd to Z. R. Shipherd, May 11, 1830, quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 67. For an overview of the Sunday school movement, see Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1988).

3. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 78, 85–89. In 1630, John Winthrop preached a famous sermon to the first Puritan settlers, entitled "City upon a Hill," based on Matthew 5:14, KJV: "Ye are the light of the world. A city that is set on a hill cannot be hid." Shipherd's emphasis on simple, frugal, communal living also made him part of the antebellum movement to return to primitive Christianity. For analysis of this movement, see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

4. For selections from letters illustrating Shipherd's thinking, see Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 88–90.

5. Quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 85–101; J. J. Shipherd to Fayette Shipherd, August 13, 1832, quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 88.

6. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 92–130; Covenant of Oberlin Colony, quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 110; *First Annual Report of Oberlin Collegiate Institute*, November 1834, Oberlin College Archives (hereafter, OCA); *Catalog of Oberlin Collegiate Institute*, 1835, OCA. Emphasis original. Like Lyon, Shipherd often took small donations from many people.

7. *Catalog of Oberlin Collegiate Institute*, 1834–1838, OCA; Fairchild, *History of Oberlin College*, 373–85.

8. *Catalog of Oberlin Collegiate Institute*, 1838.

9. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin*, 150–70; Shipherd to the Trustees of the Oberlin Collegiate Institute, January 19, 1835, quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin*, 175; J. J. Shipherd to N. P. Fletcher, December 15, 1834, quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin*, 170. Emphasis original. Catharine Beecher's father, Lyman Beecher, was president of Lane Seminary at the time.

10. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 170–78; "Student Questionnaire, 'As to the Practicability of Admitting Persons of Color,'" 1834, reproduced in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 170–71; J. J. Shipherd to Oberlin Trustees, January 19, 1835, quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 176–77.

11. It is Fletcher's judgment that Mahan supported the women. See Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 380. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 379–81.

12. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 207–35; Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism*, 3–33; *Oberlin Students Monthly* (hereafter, *OSM*) 1858, OCA, 233, 201; and *OSM* 1860, 61.

13. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 236–372; Oberlin Female Moral Reform Society Records, 1835–1857, OCA. Female Principal Marianne Dascomb was president of the Foreign Missionary Society and the Temperance Society. See A. A. F. Johnston, "Address of Welcome," in *The Oberlin Jubilee, 1833–1883*, ed. W. G. Ballantine (Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich, 1883), 142–45.

14. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 760–83; *OSM,* vols. 1–3 (1858–1860), OCA, esp. vol. 1, 77–78; Student Missionary Society Records, 1852–1864, OCA. As at Mount Holyoke, secret societies were forbidden.

15. Ballantine, *Oberlin Jubilee*, 192–206, 207–14, 215–21; *OSM* 1860, 6; James H. Fairchild, *Annual Reports of Oberlin College*, 1867–1876. It is reasonable to conclude that women's conversion statistics at least matched that of men's because women have almost always outnumbered men in churches. If this statistic was reversed at Oberlin, it would have been worthy of comment, especially because in the nineteenth century women were stereotypically considered more religious than men.

16. *OSM* 1859, 471; 1858, 1; and 1860, 56–57.

17. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 507–22; H. L. Hammond, "The First Decade," in Ballantine, *Oberlin Jubilee*, 196–203.

18. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 665–87; James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin: The Colony and the College, 1833–1883* (Oberlin, OH: E. J. Goodrich, 1883), 178; Faculty Minutes, January 9, 1835, Miscellaneous Institutional Records, James H. Fairchild Papers, OCA; Ladies' Board Minutes (May 1851–January 1862), July 15, 1854, Women's Department, OCA.

19. Ladies' Board Minutes, July 28, 1851, July 12, 1851, Women's Department, OCA; Faculty Minutes, Miscellaneous Institutional Records, James H. Fairchild

Papers, OCA; Ladies' Board Minutes (May 1851-January 1862), Women's Department, OCA. See also Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 665–87.

20. Ladies' Board Minutes (May 1851–January 1862), Women's Department, OCA; Ladies' Board Minutes, July 28, 1851, Women's Department, OCA. See also Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 665–87. From a sampling of Ladies' Board Minutes, I estimate that students were allowed to remain in about 80 percent of the cases.

21. James H. Fairchild, *Oberlin College Annual Reports*, 1867–1872, OCA; *OSM* 1861, 110ff.

22. Hammond, "The First Decade," 196–97.

23. *OSM* 1858, 267; 1859, 33–37; and 1860, 125. Stone and Blackwell remained friends. The letters between them are available in Carol Lasser and Marlene Deahl Merrill, eds., *Friends and Sisters: Letters between Lucy Stone and Antoinette Brown Blackwell, 1846–93* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987). For biographies of the women, see Andrea Moore Kerr, *Lucy Stone: Speaking Out for Equality* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1992); and Elizabeth Cazden, *Antoinette Brown Blackwell: A Biography* (Old Westbury, NY: Feminist Press, 1983).

24. LLS Records, Phi Delta Records, Phi Kappa Records, Union Literary Society Records, OCA; "History of Phi Delta, Read Aug. 9, 1865," Phi Delta Records, OCA; Ladies' Board Minutes (May 1851–January 1862), Women's Department, OCA. See also Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 760–83.

25. LLS Records, Phi Delta Records, Phi Kappa Records, Union Literary Society Records, OCA. See also Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 760–83.

26. James Fairchild, *1870 Annual Report of Oberlin College*, OCA; Barnard, *From Evangelicalism to Progressivism*, 35–68.

27. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 472–88. The Graham diet (from which graham crackers derive) was invented by Sylvester Graham and limited consumption to bland foods so as not to excite immoral impulses. For further information, see Walters, *American Reformers*, 149–52; and Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 163–67.

28. "Reminiscences and Reflections by the Late Rev. Asa Mahan, DD, LLD, VIII," *Divine Life* 13 (April 1890): 260, Asa Mahan Papers, Writings By (Non-Original), 1889–1890, OCA. There was equal honor with a difference even in reading commencement essays, a practice distinct from male students offering orations. Women did not receive diplomas when the first class completed the Ladies' Course, but they did by 1843. See Fairchild, *Oberlin*, 180.

29. "President Mahan's Address, Delivered before the National Education Convention, 20 August 1851, on the 'Character and Comparative Merits of the Old and New Systems of Liberal Education,'" newspaper clipping, Asa Mahan Papers, Writings By (Original), 1836, 1851, 1883, OCA. There appears to be some confusion about where his address was first delivered: Fletcher claims it was the Cleveland inaugural at commencement in August 1851 (classes began in April 1851). See Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 485.

30. "President Mahan's Address." As Mahan had supported the bid of the first women to enter the Collegiate Department, his sensibilities seemed to have shifted in a more conservative direction on this point.

31. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 678–79; A.W. Cowles, *Bible Topics*, 1837, Henry Cowles Papers, Account and Memoranda Books, 1835–1881, OCA; A. W. Cowles, *Essays and Instructions*, 1830–1840, typescript, Robert S. Fletcher Papers, OCA. For an extensive list of topics on which Lyon instructed Mount Holyoke students, see Fidelia Fisk, *Recollections of Mary Lyon, with Selections from Her Instructions to the Pupils in Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary* (Boston: American Tract Society, 1866).

32. Cowles, *Bible Topics*; Cowles, *Essays and Instructions*; Mary Hosford to Mary Kellogg, June 24, 1841 (Fairchild MSS), quoted in Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 380–81. The letter discussing Cowles's change in view took place between two of the original four women a few months before the historic graduation of the first three women to obtain ABs. Kellogg had to drop out after the first year, but went on to marry the future president Fairchild.

33. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 886–90.

34. *Woman's Journal* (Boston) 21, no. 49 (December 6, 1890): 385, quoted in Garth M. Rosell, "A Speckled Bird: Charles G. Finney's Contribution to Higher Education," *Fides et Historia* 25.2 (Summer 1993): 55–74 at 71–72; Catherine M. Rokicky, "Lydia Finney and Evangelical Womanhood," *Ohio History* 103 (Summer 1994): 170–89 at 185–86, Oberlin File 21.8, OCA. Piecing together various episodes, it seems that Finney did not approve of women ministers but did approve of women exhorters. Also, women reading essays still differed from men delivering orations. See Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 181. Blackwell probably did not recall Finney's "exact words," but her account is corroborated by what is known of Finney's attitudes from other sources.

35. Eliot could have been referring to either Johnston or Dascomb, but Johnston's feminist sympathies make Dascomb the far more likely candidate. T. W. Higginson, "The Higher Education of Woman," in *The Liberal Education of Women: The Demand and the Method—Current Thoughts in America and England*, ed. James Orton (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1873), 321; Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 680; James Fairchild, "Mrs. Dascomb," James H. Fairchild Papers, Writings, OCA; Fairchild, *Oberlin*, 277. Fairchild's "Mrs. Dascomb" was a eulogy.

36. James H. Fairchild, *The Joint Education of the Sexes: A Report Presented at a Meeting of the Ohio State Teachers' Association, Sandusky City, July 8th* (Oberlin, OH: James M. Fitch, 1852), OCA; James H. Fairchild, "The Coeducation of the Sexes, as Pursued in Oberlin College," republished from *Barnard's American Journal of Education* for January 1868, OCA. For an overview of Fairchild's connection with Oberlin, see Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*.

37. James H. Fairchild, *Woman's Rights and Duties: A Lecture Delivered before the Students of Oberlin Collegiate Institute, June, 1849* (Oberlin, OH: James M. Fitch, 1849), esp. 3; Antoinette L. Brown, "Exegesis of I Corinthians, XIV, 34, 35; and I Timothy, II, 11, 12," *Oberlin Quarterly Review*, 358–73. Ironically, agitation for women to speak at commencement came to full fruition during Fairchild's presidency, in the permission of female college students to deliver commencement orations being granted in 1874. Fairchild firmly held to the principle of faculty governance, so when the faculty overruled him, he relented.

38. Fairchild, *Woman's Rights and Duties*, 5–16.

39. Fairchild, *Woman's Rights and Duties*, 17–24, 32–33. A woman reading her composition in front of men was considered less masculine than delivering a memorized oration, an activity corresponding to the realm of law and politics.

40. Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 907; Fairchild, *Joint Education of the Sexes*, esp. 2–3, 29. The "food argument" for providing men and women identical training would become quite prevalent in national debates over coeducation. See chapter 4.

41. Fairchild, *Joint Education of the Sexes*, esp. 22, 29.

42. Fairchild, "Coeducation of the Sexes."

43. A. A. F. Johnston, "1st Division," June 20, 1871, October 27, 1874, Mrs. A. A. F. Johnston Papers, Notebook, 1863–1874, OCA; Fletcher, *History of Oberlin College*, 903–4.

44. A. A. F. Johnston, "Whispering in Prayers," October 14, 1874, Mrs. A. A. F. Johnston Papers, Notebook, 1863–1874, OCA.

45. A. A. F. Johnston, "The Woman Question," November 10, 1874, Mrs. A. A. F. Johnston Papers, Notebook, 1863–1874, OCA.

Chapter 4

1. Andrew D. White, *Report Submitted to the Trustees of Cornell University, in Behalf of a Majority of the Committee on Mr. Sage's Proposal to Endow a College for Women* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1872); Charles W. Eliot, "Inaugural Address," in *Addresses at the Inauguration of Charles William Eliot as President of Harvard College, Tuesday, October 19, 1869* (Cambridge, MA: Sever and Francis, 1869), 29–65 at 46–51.

2. On colleges' dual sense of mission to both church and state, see George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

3. On these intellectual changes within the academy, see, for example, Marsden, *Soul of the American University*; Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); and Jon H. Roberts and James Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000).

4. See chapter 1.

5. For a classic discussion of the individualistic tendencies of early nineteenth-century evangelical Protestantism, see Nathan Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1989).

6. Arlan K. Gilbert, *Historic Hillsdale College: Pioneer in Higher Education, 1844–1900* (Ann Arbor, MI: Hillsdale College Press, printed by Edwards Brothers, 1991), 1–60, 99–120; John Rury and Glen Harper, "The Trouble with Coeducation: Mann and Women at Antioch, 1853–1860," *History of Education Quarterly* 26 (Winter 1986): 481–502, esp. 485; Doris Malkmus, "Origins of Coeducation in Antebellum Iowa," *The Annals of Iowa* 58 (Spring 1999): 162–196.

7. On Michigan's transformations and influence, see James Turner and Paul Bernard, "The German Model and the Graduate School: The University of Michigan and the Origin Myth of the American University," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Roger Geiger, (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 221–41; and Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 101–12.

8. "Report on the Admission of Females, Submitted September 29, 1858," Appendix B, September 1858 Meeting of the Board of Trustees of the University of Michigan, *Regents' Proceedings*, 1837–1864, 782–96 at 782–85, University of Michigan Archives (hereafter, UMA).

9. *Catalogue of the Corporation, Officers, and Students in the Departments of Medicine, Arts, and Sciences in the University of Michigan* (hereafter, *Catalogue of the University of Michigan*), 1852–1853 (Detroit: Free Press Book and Job Office Print, 1853), UMA, 21; Turner and Bernard, "German Model and the Graduate School," 221–41.

10. Henry Tappan, *A Discourse on Education, Delivered at the Anniversary of the Young Ladies' Institute, Pittsfield, Mass., Oct 2, 1846* (New York: Roe Lockwood and Son, 1846), 38, 40, 42–43; Henry Frieze, "Rev. Henry Philip Tappan, d. June 28, 1882," 1882, FImu E8 A227d M533, UMA, 23–24.

11. *Catalogue of the University of Michigan,* 1855–1856, 47; *Catalogue of the University of Michigan*, 1852–1853, 19; Henry Philip Tappan, *The University: Its Constitution, and Its Relations, Political and Religious: A Discourse Delivered June 22d, 1858, at the Request of the Christian Library Association* (Ann Arbor, MI: Printed by S. B. McCracken, 1858), especially 32–33. On republican motherhood, see Margaret Nash, "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 171–91; and Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

12. "Report on the Admission of Females," 785–89.

13. Ibid., 789–91; Rury and Harper, "Trouble with Coeducation," 481–502.

14. "Report on the Admission of Females," 791–96. On Hannah More, see Karen Swallow Prior, *Fierce Convictions: The Extraordinary Life of Hannah More: Poet, Reformer, Abolitionist* (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson, 2014).

15. *The President's Report to the Board of Regents for the Year Ending June 30, 1856* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1856), UMA, 16–25; "Report on the Admission of Females," 791–96.

16. Many Southern states had opposed the Morrill Act because the bill apportioned the grants according to population, thus favoring the Northeast. For the role of the Civil War in changes in U.S. higher education, see, among others, Michael David Cohen, *Reconstructing the Campus: Higher Education and the American Civil War* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); and Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 43–61. On the motivations for collegiate coeducation in the West, see Christine D. Myers, *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era: Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 10; and Malkmus, "Origins of Coeducation in Antebellum Iowa," 162–96.

17. On the influence of Germany on U.S. higher education, see Turner and Bernard, "German Model and the Graduate School," 221–41.

18. On White, see Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 113–22; Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* (New York: Century, 1905); and Glenn C. Altschuler, "White, Andrew Dickson," http://www.anb.org/articles

/09/09-00796.html, *American National Biography Online* (hereafter, *ANBO*), February 2000.

19. White, *Report . . . on Mr. Sage's Proposal*, esp. 37. For an overview of the early development of coeducation at Cornell, see Morris Bishop, *A History of Cornell* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1962), 143–52; and Charlotte Williams Conable, *Women at Cornell: The Myth of Equal Education* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 43–97, esp. 52–53 and 63–67.

20. White, *Report . . . on Mr. Sage's Proposal*, esp. 5–6.

21. Ibid., 31.

22. Ibid., 12–16.

23. Ruth Bordin, *Women at Michigan: The "Dangerous Experiment," 1870s to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999): xxvii, 5–6.

24. White, *Report . . . on Mr. Sage's Proposal*, 16–18.

25. Ibid., 18–21, 37–39.

26. On Cornell's somewhat unique status, see Bishop, *History of Cornell.*

27. White, *Report . . . on Mr. Sage's Proposal*, 39, 34–37. White famously laid out his views on religion in *A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom*, 2 vols. (New York: Appleton, 1896).

28. Eliot, "Inaugural Address," 46–51. One hundred thirty-six years later, after the cultural success of second-wave feminism, a similarly noncommittal statement regarding women's academic abilities would cost a later Harvard president, Lawrence Summers, his job.

29. For more on Eliot's educational philosophy, see chapter 6.

30. James Freeman Clarke, "Co-Education in Harvard," in *The Liberal Education of Women: The Demand and the Method—Current Thoughts in America and England*, ed. James Orton (New York: A. S. Barnes, 1873), 231–37. On Eliot's life and thought, see Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); William Allan Neilson, "Biographical Sketch," in *Charles W. Eliot: The Man and His Beliefs*, ed. William Allan Neilson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1926), 1:ix–xxvii; and Philo A. Hutcheson, "Eliot, Charles William," http://www.anb.org/articles/09/09-00250.html, *ANBO*, February 2000. For a rich description of the social and cultural world and worldview of the Boston Brahmins, see James Turner, *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 1–20. For elaboration of Eliot's beliefs on the roles of men's and women's higher education, see chapter 6.

31. Charles W. Eliot, "Address of Welcome," in *A Record of the Inauguration of Caroline Hazard, Litt. D., as President of Wellesley College, III October MDCCCXCIX* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1899), 14–19, esp. 17; Edward Clarke, *Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for the Girls* (Boston: J. R. Osgood, 1873).

32. Clarke, "Co-Education in Harvard," 231–37.

33. T. W. Higginson, "Graduates of Antioch College" and "*Woman's Journal* Editorial," in *History of Woman Suffrage*, ed. E. C. Stanton, S. B. Anthony, and Matilda Joslyn Gage (Rochester, NY: Charles Mann, 1886), 3:496–98; T. W. Higginson, "The Higher Education of Woman," in Orton, *Liberal Education of Women*, 309–24. Higginson paraphrases the remarks by all respondents to his 1873 paper. On Higginson,

see Tilden G. Edelstein, "Higginson, Thomas Wentworth," http://www.anb.org/articles/15/15-00331.html, *ANBO*, February 2000.

34. Professor John Bascom, "The Argument for Co-Education," in Orton, *Liberal Education of Women*, 209–16.

35. President John Raymond, "The Demand of the Age for the Liberal Education of Woman, and How It Should Be Met," in Orton, *Liberal Education of Women*, 27–57 at 56–57; *Amherst Student* (October 1871), "Shall We Admit Women?" in Orton, *Liberal Education of Women*, 203–5; "Notes by Mary Durling—August 4, 1993," Coeducation at Oberlin #2, Oberlin College Archives (partial copy from the Williams College Archives of the majority report of a meeting of July 29, 1871, of the Williams College Society of Alumni).

36. T. W. Higginson, "Higher Education of Woman," 319–23; Raymond, "Demand of the Age for the Liberal Education of Woman," 27–57 at 56–57. On Vassar's curriculum, see chapter 2. Fairchild fair-mindedly noted that he could not tell if the drop was a standard fluctuation or the indication of a long-term trend.

37. Higginson, "Graduates of Antioch College" and "*Woman's Journal* Editorial," 496–98.

38. Bascom, "Argument for Co-Education," 209–16; "Notes by Mary Durling."

39. David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831–1910: Collegiate Enterprise in New England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 98–101.

40. Ibid., 98–112. For an overview of Methodism in America, see David Hempton, *Methodism: Empire of the Spirit* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005); and John H. Wigger, *Taking Heaven by Storm: Methodism and the Rise of Popular Christianity in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

41. On Johns Hopkins, see Hugh Hawkins, *Pioneer: A History of the Johns Hopkins University* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1960).

Chapter 5

1. For accounts of Princeton's history focused on the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, see P. C. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service: Religious Ideals and Educational Practice, 1868–1928* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); and Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the "Age of the University," 1865–1917* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992). For wider overviews and other eras, see James Axtell, *The Making of Princeton University: From Woodrow Wilson to the Present* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); Roger L. Geiger with Julie Ann Bubolz, "College as It Was in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Roger L. Geiger (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000); Mark A. Noll, *Princeton and the Republic, 1768–1822: The Search for a Christian Enlightenment in the Era of Samuel Stanhope Smith* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989); and Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *Princeton, 1746–1896* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1946).

2. Of the original twelve Association of American Universities (AAU) members, Congregationalist Yale and, to some extent, Unitarian Harvard are the only others to have previously been traditional nineteenth-century denominational colleges; see https://www.aau.edu/about/article.aspx?id=5476. For Princeton's representativeness,

see Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*; Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*; Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996); and George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994).

3. Josephine Curtis Scrapbook, Box 332, Historical Subject Files AC109, Series 29, Princeton Area, Princeton University Archives (hereafter, PUA). Curtis went on to marry Edward Duffield, a Princeton student who courted her during her time at Evelyn. Duffield served as Princeton's acting president in 1932–1933. Their correspondence is available at CO810 Edward Duffield Correspondence with Josephine Curtis, Rare Books and Special Collections (hereafter, RBSC), Harvey S. Firestone Library, Princeton University. For an overview of the history of Evelyn College, see Frances Healy, "A History of Evelyn College for Women, Princeton, New Jersey, 1887 to 1897" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1967).

4. Cited in Wertenbaker, *Princeton*, 19; Daniel Edward Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances: Buchmanism and Student Religious Life at Princeton, 1919–1935" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1995), 11–12.

5. Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances," 12.

6. Ibid., 1–27, provides an excellent brief overview of Princeton's religious climate in the years from its founding to the Civil War. Statistic from p. 12.

7. Ibid., 17. A detailed treatment of these years of Princeton's history can be found in Noll, *Princeton and the Republic,* 12–213. New Jersey, unique among all the former colonies, granted property-owning women the right to vote in 1790–1807, during which time, Princeton's goal of moral formation for civic participation dominated. The reasons for this brief exception to the antebellum exclusion of women from the polls lay more in the internal machinations of New Jersey politics than in any principled stance; the same machinations soon brought it to an end. Nevertheless, in New Jersey in particular, women would logically have benefited from the same mental training in the principles of Christianity and republican government that formed the core of Princeton's moral formation during the early republic period. Irwin N. Gertzog, "Female Suffrage in New Jersey, 1790–1807," in *Women, Politics, and the Constitution*, ed. Naomi B. Lynn (Binghamton, NY: Hayworth Press, 1990), 47–58. On republican motherhood, see Margaret Nash, "Rethinking Republican Motherhood: Benjamin Rush and the Young Ladies' Academy of Philadelphia," *Journal of the Early Republic* 17 (1997): 171–91; and Linda K. Kerber, *Women of the Republic: Intellect and Ideology in Revolutionary America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980).

8. Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances," 18–20. A detailed treatment of these years of Princeton's history can be found in Noll, *Princeton and the Republic*, 214–291. On antebellum reform, see Ronald G. Walters, *American Reformers, 1815–1860,* rev. ed. (New York: Hill and Wang, 1997); Robert H. Abzug, *Cosmos Crumbling: American Reform and the Religious Imagination* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Anne Boylan, *The Origins of Women's Activism: New York and Boston, 1797–1840* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Lori Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990).

9. Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances," 20–26. Sack refers to the Philadelphian Society as a "gathered church" set against the college's "established church."

10. A good history of these years is Wertenbaker, *Princeton*, 172–289.

11. Princeton University, *The First Centennial Anniversary of the College of New Jersey, Celebrated June, 1847* (Princeton, NJ: Printed by John T. Robinson, 1848), 3–36.

12. John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey: From Its Origin in 1746 to the Commencement of 1854* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1877), 2:411–36.

13. John Maclean, baccalaureate sermons, May 12, 1856, and April 26, 1868, Folder 3, Box 34, AC117 Presidents, PUA.

14. Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances," 25–27; Wertenbaker, *Princeton*, 256–89.

15. For an overview of the changes in American higher education during this era, see Roger Geiger, *The History of American Higher Education: Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), 269–421; and James Turner, "The Forgotten History of the Research Ideal," in *Language, Religion, Knowledge: Past and Present* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2003), 95–106. See also discussion in the introduction and chapter 1. On student extracurricular life and the rise of athletics, see, for example, Brian M. Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University: Higher Education's Uneasy Alliance with Big-Time Football* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2012); and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987).

16. James McCosh, *The New Departure in College Education: Being a Reply to President Eliot's Defense of It in New York, Feb. 24, 1885* (New York: Scribner, 1885); Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 72–78. Under McCosh, Princeton went from 281 to 523 students.

17. On the intellectual changes contributing to the secularization of the academy, see the introduction, chapter 1, and chapter 4.

18. James McCosh, *Religion in a College: What Place It Should Have—Being an Examination of President Eliot's Paper Read before the Nineteenth Century Club, in New York, Feb. 3, 1886* (New York: A. C. Armstrong and Son, 1886). Also on McCosh's views, see Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 204–15. On intellectuals' varied responses to Darwinism, see Jon H. Roberts, *Darwinism and the Divine in America: Protestant Intellectuals and Organic Evolution, 1859–1900* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988). On the reception of Darwinism specifically at Princeton, see Bradley J. Gundlach, *Process and Providence: The Evolution Question at Princeton, 1845–1929* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2013); and Joseph E. Illick, "The Reception of Darwinism at the Theological Seminary and the College at Princeton, New Jersey, Part II: The College Seminary," *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society* 38 (1960): 234–243.

19. McCosh, *Religion in a College*; James McCosh, *Inauguration of Rev. Jas. M'Cosh, D.D., LL.D., as President of Princeton College, October 27, 1868* (Princeton, NJ: Printed at the Standard Office, 1869), 15–32, esp. 25; James McCosh, *Lessons Derived from the Plant: The Baccalaureate Sermon Preached before the College of New Jersey, June 26, 1870* (Princeton, NJ: Stelle and Smith, 1870), 25–32, esp. 25; James McCosh, *Faith in Christ and Faith in Doctrine, Compared and Contrasted: The Baccalaureate Sermon Preached before the College of New Jersey, June 23, 1872* (Princeton, NJ: Stelle

and Smith, 1872), 25–26. James McCosh, *Unity with Diversity in the Works and Word of God: The Baccalaureate Sermon Preached before the College of New Jersey, June 25, 1871* (Princeton, NJ: Stelle and Smith, 1871), 23–30; James McCosh, *The World a Scene of Contest: The Baccalaureate Sermon Preached before the College of New Jersey, June 25, 1876* (New York: Robert Carter and Brothers, 1876), 25–32; James McCosh, *Twenty Years of Princeton College: Being a Farewell Address Delivered June 20th, 1888 by James McCosh, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D.* (New York: Scribner, 1888), 45; James McCosh, *The Imagination: Its Use and Its Abuse, Prepared for the Young Men's Christian Association, London* (New York: American Tract Society, 1857).

20. For overviews of Patton's presidency, see Joby Topper, "College Presidents, Public Image, and the Popular Press: A Comparative Study of Francis L. Patton of Princeton and Seth Low of Columbia, 1888–1902," *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education* 28 (2011): 63–111; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 87–126; and Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 219–23.

21. Francis L. Patton, "Religion and the University," *Education Report* (1896–1897): 1317–26, esp. 1317–18, Folder 1, Box 1, AC141 Sesquicentennial Records, c. 1887–1993 (bulk 1894–1904), Mudd Library, PUA. See also, among others, Francis L. Patton, *Inauguration of the Rev. Francis Landey Patton, D.D., LL.D., as President of Princeton College* (New York: Gray Brothers, 1888), 22; and Francis Patton, *The Letter and the Spirit: A Baccalaureate Sermon Preached at Marquand Chapel, Princeton, N.J., June 8, 1890*, PUA.

22. Patton, *Inauguration*, 17–21, 35, 39–40; Francis L. Patton, "The Problems and Prospects of College Men as Seen by Their Presidents: Should a Businessman Have a College Education?" *Saturday Evening Post*, May 26, 1900, 1094. Patton's emphasis reflected a turn shared with many other denominational colleges toward actively socializing students into the urban world of elite businessmen and government officials. On the role of donors in shaping transformations at denominational colleges, see Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*. On muscular Christianity, see L. Dean Allen, *Rise Up, O Men of God: The Men and Religion Forward Movement and Promise Keepers* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2002); Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Gail Bederman, " 'The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long Enough': The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911–1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-class Protestantism," *American Quarterly* 14 (1989): 432–65.

23. Francis L. Patton, *Religion in College: A Sermon Preached in Marquand Chapel, Princeton, N.J., Sept. 22, 1889 by Francis L. Patton, D.D., LL.D., President of Princeton College* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, C. S. Robinson, 1889), 3–4, 11–12.

24. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 87–126; McCosh, *Twenty Years of Princeton College*, 43–47; Ingrassia, *The Rise of Gridiron University*, 27–29. For changes in the culture of student life, see Horowitz, *Campus Life*. On the relationship of colleges to business, see Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890–1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010).

25. Francis L. Patton, *Inauguration*, 15–44 at 41; Patton, *Religion in College*, 6, 8–11, 14; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 108; Francis L. Patton, *Speech of*

Prof. Francis L. Patton, D.D., LL.D., President-Elect of Princeton College at the Annual Dinner of the Princeton Club of New York, March 15, 1888 (n.p., 1888), 7.

26. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 55–56, 96, 101, 106–10; David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 102–5.

27. Many thanks to Joby Topper for pointing out the source on Patton's view of coeducation: *Chicago Tribune*, April 16, 1894, 8. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Emphasis original.

28. On nineteenth-century arguments for women's higher education, see, for example, Margaret Nash, *Women's Education in the United States, 1780–1840* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990); and Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985). Patton is listed as a trustee in the prospectus for Evelyn, as well as all extant catalogs: *Evelyn College for Young Women, Princeton, New Jersey* (1886 or 1887), (1890), 1890–1891, 1891–1892, 1895–1896, Folder 4: Course Catalogues, 1890–1896, Box 330, Historical Subject Files AC109, Series 29, Princeton Area, PUA; *Evelyn College for Young Women, Princeton, New Jersey* 1893–1894, Folder 4, Box 27, Allan Marquand Papers CO269, RBSC.

29. For an overview of McIlvaine's life and beliefs, see Thomas R. Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987). Information about McIlvaine appears throughout the book, as he was Morgan's best friend and sponsor. On the beginnings of Evelyn, see Healy, "A History of Evelyn College for Women," 36–65. For Princeton's finances the year it approved Evelyn, see AC 120 Trustee Minutes, vol. 7, February 10, 1887, 12, PUA. The college was named after Sir John Evelyn, "whose seventeenth-century characteristics of learning and modesty were at the very beginning made the cardinal principles of the college." Adaline W. Sterling, "Evelyn College," *Harper's Bazaar* 29 (September 26, 1896): 806–7.

30. *Evelyn College for Young Women* (1886 or 1887), (1890), 1890–1891, 1891–1892, 1893–1894, 1895–1896. Princeton maintained a strength in art history, as distinct from instruction in art. Evelyn embraced this type of instruction as well: Princeton's distinguished art history professor Allan Marquand taught at Evelyn during its existence and served on its board of trustees. For changes in nineteenth-century women's curriculum, see chapter 2.

31. *Evelyn College for Young Women* (1886 or 1887), 8; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 165; *Evelyn College for Young Women,* 1890–1891, 13–14; *Catalog of the College of New Jersey* 1890–1891, 155–56, PUA; "Evelyn College," *Princeton Press*, January 10, 1891, in Josephine Curtis Scrapbook, PUA. For lack of scholarships, see *Evelyn College 1891–92 Annual Report*, Folder 4: Course Catalogues, 1890–1896, Box 330, Historical Subject Files AC109, Series 29, Princeton Area, PUA.

32. Healy, "A History of Evelyn College for Women," 54–72; *Evelyn College for Young Women* (1886 or 1887), 8; *Queenscourt: The Evelyn School for Girls, Princeton, New Jersey* 1894–1895, 7, Folder 4: Course Catalogues, 1890–1896, Box 330, Historical Subject Files AC109, Series 29, Princeton Area, PUA; "Demise of Women's

College in Princeton Grieves Economically Inclined Students," *Daily Princetonian*, March 22, 1939.

33. "Evelyn College: Third Baccalaureate Sermon, by the Rev. J. H. McIlvaine D.D., President of the College," *Princeton Press*, June 15, 1895, Appendix II; Healy, "A History of Evelyn College for Women," 144–51. On McIlvaine's beliefs, see also Trautmann, *Lewis Henry Morgan and the Invention of Kinship*. The doctrine of inerrancy was first articulated at Princeton Theological Seminary. See James H. Moorhead, *Princeton Seminary in American Religion and Culture* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2012).

34. "Evelyn College: Third Baccalaureate Sermon," Appendix II; Healy, "A History of Evelyn College for Women," 144–51, esp. 144–45, 151. For Evelyn's religious routine, see *Evelyn College for Young Women,* 1895–1896, 12, 21–22. On modernism at Mount Holyoke, see Andrea L. Turpin, "Memories of Mary: Interpretations of the Founder in the Secularization Process of Mount Holyoke Seminary and College, 1837–1937," *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education* 28 (2011): 33–61. For Wellesley, see chapter 7.

35. "Evelyn College," *Princeton Press*, January 10, 1891, in Josephine Curtis Scrapbook.

36. "Women at Princeton," *Logansport (Indiana) Pharos*, December 30, 1897, 6. Thanks to Joby Topper for this source. Evelyn principal Elizabeth McIlvaine, quoted in this article, did not specifically name which leaders of Princeton had opposed the school's fund-raising.

37. For Wilson's views on the role of religion in higher education, see Woodrow Wilson, "Princeton in the Nation's Service: Oration by Prof. Woodrow Wilson," *Education Report* (1896–97): 1326–32, Folder 1, Box 1, AC141 Sesquicentennial Records, c. 1887–1993 (bulk 1894–1904), PUA, esp. 1329; and Woodrow Wilson, "Princeton for the Nation's Service: Inaugural Address by President Wilson," *Daily Princetonian* 23 (October 25, 1902): 3–5, esp. 5. For overviews of Wilson's Princeton presidency, see James Axtell, ed., *The Educational Legacy of Woodrow Wilson: From College to Nation* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2012); Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 127–72; and Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 224–35. Wilson's ascension to the presidency was effectively the result of a coup by alumni and faculty dissatisfied with what they perceived as Patton's retrogression and incompetence. See Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 87–125, esp. 123–25.

38. Wilson, "Princeton in the Nation's Service," esp. 1329; Wilson, "Princeton for the Nation's Service," 3–5, esp. 5; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 127–72; Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 224–35.

39. Woodrow Wilson, *Baccalaureate Address of Woodrow Wilson, '79, President of Princeton University, 1902–10, to the Class of 1909, Alexander Hall, June 13, 1909* (n.p., 1959), Folder 5, Box 57, AC117 Presidents, RBSC; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 127–72.

40. Wilson, "Princeton for the Nation's Service," 3–5, quoted in Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service,* 127; Woodrow Wilson, "The Statesmanship of Letters," in *The Eighth Celebration of Founder's Day at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburg, Thursday, November 5, 1903* (n.p., n.d.), 7–21, Folder 5, Box 57, AC117 Presidents, RBSC, quoted in Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service,* 131; Woodrow Wilson, *The*

Relation of University Education to Commerce, Address by Woodrow Wilson, LL. D., President of Princeton University, November 29, 1902 (n.p., n.d.), Folder 5, Box 57, AC117 Presidents, RBSC. On the rise of efficiency ideology, see John M. Jordan, *Machine-Age Ideology: Social Engineering and American Liberalism, 1911–1939* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Daniel T. Rodgers, "In Search of Progressivism," *Reviews in American History* 10 (December 1982): 113–32; and Samuel P. Hays, *Conservation and the Gospel of Efficiency: The Progressive Conservation Movement, 1890–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959).

41. For an excellent overview of Wilson's attitude toward women's education, see Victoria Bissell Brown, "Conservative among Progressives: Woodrow Wilson in the Golden Age of American Women's Higher Education," in Axtell, *Educational Legacy of Woodrow Wilson*, 122–68. Woodrow Wilson to Charles William Kent, May 29, 1894, in Arthur S. Link et al., *The Papers of Woodrow Wilson,* 69 vols. (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966–1994), 8:584; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 167; Arthur S. Link, "Woodrow Wilson and the Life of Faith," *Presbyterian Life*, March 1, 1963, Folder: Biographical Articles, Pamphlets, Etc., Box 1, 3H/Wilson, Bryn Mawr College Archives (hereafter, BMCA); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994), 195; Virginia Kays Creasey, "Woodrow Wilson amid the 'Demure Damsels,'" *Princeton Alumni Weekly* (March 4, 1975): 8, Folder: Biographical Articles, Pamphlets, Etc., Box 1, 3H/Wilson, BMCA.

42. Wilson, *Baccalaureate Address to the Class of 1909*, Folder 5, Box 57, AC117 Presidents, RBSC. In fact, many Progressive Era women with college educations found themselves participating in voluntary rather than paid work. See, for example, Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 9–11; and Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, 115–40.

43. Kemeny *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 164–72, 169. A gauge of the socially exclusive nature of Princeton is that in 1909, 78 percent of Princeton's student body had attended an elite preparatory school, such as Andover, Exeter, and Lawrenceville (Kemeny, 165). Princeton was also the only one of the fourteen founding institutions of the Association of American Universities (founded in 1900) to exclude African Americans, and the only one other than Yale to make no provision of any sort for women. See, for example, Stefan Bradley, "The Southern-Most Ivy: Princeton University from Jim Crow Admissions to Anti-Apartheid Protests, 1764–1969," *American Studies* 51 (Fall/Winter 2010): 109–30.

44. John G. Hibben, "The Essentials of Liberal Education: The Inaugural Address of John Grier Hibben, President, Princeton University, May 11, 1912," *Official Register of Princeton University* 3 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1912), esp. 13, 15. On Hibben's presidency, see Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 173–219. On elitism under Patton, see Topper, "College Presidents, Public Image, and the Popular Press."

45. Hibben, "Essentials of Liberal Education," 15–20, esp. 20; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 187–88; John G. Hibben, "President Hibben's Address," *Princeton Alumni Weekly* 12 (February 28, 1912): 339–42 at 342.

46. David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1831–1910: Collegiate Enterprise in New England* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 161–232. For the continu-

ation of the story in later decades, see David B. Potts, *Wesleyan University, 1910–1970: Academic Ambition and Middle-Class America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2015). Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, demonstrates the widespread increase in the influence of urban alumni in eastern colleges at the turn of the twentieth century.

Chapter 6

1. Annie Ware Winsor Allen, "What the 'Annex' Might Become," Folder 3: Assignments 1887–1888, Box 1:1–9, Annie Ware Winsor Allen X '88 Papers, 1865–1955, SC 35. On nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Radcliffe, see Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, ed., *Yards and Gates: Gender in Harvard and Radcliffe History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 87–184; Sally Schwager, "'Harvard Women': A History of the Founding of Radcliffe College" (EdD diss., Harvard University, 1982); and Dorothy Elia Howells, *A Century to Celebrate: Radcliffe College, 1879–1979* (Cambridge, MA: Radcliffe College, 1978).

2. Good overviews of Harvard during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries include James Turner, *The Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); Kim Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard: William James and Others* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996); George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 181–95; Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); and Samuel Eliot Morison, ed., *The Development of Harvard University since the Inauguration of President Eliot, 1869–1929* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930).

3. For an overview of Harvard's early years, see Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636–1936* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936), 3–319; and for the early nineteenth century, see Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805–1861* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970). For an exceptional, concise overview of the culture of Boston's nineteenth-century elite and the role Harvard played in that culture, see Turner, *Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton*, 1–20. For a fuller treatment, see Ronald Story, *The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard and the Boston Upper Class, 1800–1870* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1980).

4. Turner, *Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton*, 1–20.

5. Charles William Eliot, "Inaugural Address," in *Addresses at the Inauguration of Charles William Eliot as President of Harvard College, Tuesday, October 19, 1869* (Cambridge, MA: Sever and Francis, 1869), 27–65. For a good overview of Eliot's educational philosophy and influence, see Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America*; and William Allan Neilson, "Biographical Sketch," in *Charles W. Eliot: The Man and His Beliefs*, ed. William Allan Neilson (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1926), 1:ix–xxvii.

6. Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard*, 17–29, 279–86; Kristin Hoganson, "Harvard Men: From Dudes to Rough Riders," in Ulrich, *Yards and Gates*, 117–28 at 120–21.

7. Charles W. Eliot, "What Place Religion Should Have in a College," February 3, 1886, Read before the Nineteenth Century Club of New York, Folder 36,

Box 217, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, Harvard University Archives (hereafter, HUA); William Reed Bigelow, *Harvard's Better Self* (Boston: Repr. *New England Magazine*, December 1890, by YMCA, Harvard University, 1890). See also Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 186–89.

8. E. H. Abbot, ed., *Phillips Brooks House: An Account of Its Origin, Dedication, and Purpose as an Endowed Home for the Organized Efforts Now Making to Perpetuate the Influence and Spirit of Phillips Brooks among the Students of Harvard University* (Boston: Privately Printed for the Information of its Widely Scattered Contributors, 1900); Charles William Eliot, *Address of President Charles W. Eliot, at the transfer of the Phillips Brooks House from the Building Committee to the College* (n.p., 1898), HUA. For a recent biography of Phillips Brooks, see Gillis J. Harp, *Brahmin Prophet: Phillips Brooks and the Path of Liberal Protestantism* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

9. Eliot, "What Place Religion Should Have in a College."

10. Charles W. Eliot, Untitled Address, 3–4, Folder 165: Radcliffe College, 1905, Box 220, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, HUA; Hoganson, "Harvard Men," 117, 120–21, 125–26.

11. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "The Great Debate: Charles W. Eliot and M. Carey Thomas," in Ulrich, *Yards and Gates*, 129–37; Charles W. Eliot, "Women's Education—A Forecast," *Association of Collegiate Alumnae Publications*, February 1908, 101–5, Folder 216, Box 221, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, HUA. For Eliot's earlier views on the experimental nature of women's higher education, see chapter 4. Data from the turn of the century indicates that college women actually married at around the rate of 50 percent as compared with about 90 percent of the general population, although this statistic does not take into account the fact that more college women belonged to the richer classes, which had a lower marriage rate overall. See Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 119–22.

12. Charles W. Eliot, "Religion in the Home," May 1903, Folder: Religious Education of Families, 1903, Box 219, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, HUA.

13. Eliot, "Religion in the Home"; Charles W. Eliot, "Women's Education—A Forecast," *Association of Collegiate Alumnae Publications*, February 1908, 101–5, Folder 216, Box 221, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, HUA; Charles W. Eliot, "The Normal American Woman," *Ladies' Home Journal*, 1908, Folder 223, Box 221, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, HUA. For arguments about possible coeducational uses of the free elective system, see chapter 4.

14. Eliot, "Normal American Woman." For the social origins and culture of the Boston Brahmins, see Turner, *Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton*, 1–20.

15. Charles W. Eliot, Radcliffe Commencement Speech, 1903, Folder 133, Box 219, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, HUA; "Living at Harvard," *Boston Herald*, November 6, 1887, History, 1879–1893, Vertical Files, Radcliffe College Archives (hereafter, RCA); P. C. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service: Religious Ideals and Educational Practice, 1868–1928*

(New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 165; Townsend, *Manhood at Harvard*, 24; Eliot, "What Place Religion Should Have in a College," 12–13. Compare *Radcliffe Course Catalogs*, 1879–1909, RCA, and *Harvard Course Catalogs*, 1879–1909, HUA.

16. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz to Charles William Eliot, March 24, 1893, Folder 7: Incorporating Radcliffe College, 1893–1894, Box 1, SC 99 Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, RCA.

17. For an excellent discussion of the founding of Radcliffe, see Sally Schwager, "Taking Up the Challenge: The Origins of Radcliffe," in Ulrich, *Yards and Gates*, 87–116.

18. *First Annual Report of the Woman's Education Association for the Year Ending January 16, 1873* (Boston: W. L. Deland, 1873), 5–16, esp. 5; Schwager, "Taking Up the Challenge, 92–99.

19. *Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women, Courses of Study*, 1880/81–1887/88. Residences had to be approved starting in 1887–88.

20. Woman's Education Association, *Annual Report for 1881* (Boston: W. L. Deland, 1881), 15–17.

21. Thus, Radcliffe was initially led by a Cabot, as in the famous doggerel: "Boston the Hub of the Universe, / The home of the bean and the cod. / Where the Lowells speak only to Cabots, / And Cabots speak only to God." Likewise, Charles William Eliot's successor at Harvard was A. Lawrence Lowell. The Eliots too belonged to the Boston elite. See Turner, *Liberal Education of Charles Eliot Norton*, 1–20.

22. Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, Radcliffe Commencement Address, 1897, 74, Folder: Commencement Addresses, 1895–1970, RG XXIV 5 RCA Subject Files, 1894–2006, RCA; Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, Radcliffe Commencement Address, June 28, 1898, Folder 31, Box 1, SC99 Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, RCA; Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, Radcliffe Commencement Address, 1899, Folder 31, Box 1, SC99 Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, RCA. For an analysis of how various modernist institutions of higher education relied on the humanities to provide moral content to a college education through the study of the true, the good, and the beautiful, see Jon H. Roberts and James Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 73–122. Institutions of a more evangelical character used these courses as aids to piety rather than as substitutes.

23. Gloria Bruce, "Radcliffe Women at Play," in Ulrich, *Yards and Gates*, 139–46; Mary Coes, *Radcliffe Annual Report*, 1909–1910, 19, Folder 10, Papers of Mary Coes, SC22, RCA; Agassiz, Radcliffe Commencement Address, 1898, 7; Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, Speech on the Opening of Bertram Hall, 1901, 4, Folder 2, Box 1, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, 1884–1903, 1959, SC4, RCA; Elizabeth Cary Agassiz, Speech on Acceptance of Gift of Student's Hall (Agassiz House), 1902, 2–3, Folder 2, Box 1, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, 1884–1903, 1959, SC4, RCA. Morning prayers were offered at Radcliffe, 1896–1932. "No Chapel at Radcliffe," newspaper clipping, n.d., ca. 1932, Vertical Files: Religion, RCA.

24. "Not Always to the Swift," *[Radcliffe?] Quarterly*, April 1927, 26–27, Folder 1, Agnes Irwin Papers, 1909–1947, RA.A/I72, RCA; Arthur Gilman to Agnes Irwin, September 4, 1894, Box 1, Autograph Collection Letters (1881–1946), SC 72,

RCA; M.C.R., "Why Agnes Irwin Was Made Dean of Radcliffe," *Boston Herald*, May 28, 1894, Folder 38, Box 1, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, SC99, RCA; "The Dean of Radcliffe: Miss Irwin's Selection Gives Great Satisfaction," n.d, Folder 38, Box 1, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, SC99, RCA; "'Tis Philadelphia's Loss: Radcliffe the Gainer in the Selection of Miss Irwin to Be Its Dean," n.d., Folder 38, Box 1, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, SC99, RCA. For a biography of Irwin, see Agnes Repplier, *Agnes Irwin: A Biography* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1934).

25. Agnes Irwin, Radcliffe Commencement Address, 1895, Folder: Commencement Addresses, 1895–1970, RG XXIV Series 5 RCA Subject Files, 1894–2006, RCA; "Miss Irwin Says Goodbye as Dean," 1909, History, 1900–1919, Vertical Files, RCA; Agnes Irwin, Speech at the Annual Meeting of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, Atlanta, 1905, Folder 2, Agnes Irwin Papers, 1909–1947, RA.A/I72, RCA. The presence of Henrietta Leavitt (Radcliff, 1894) and Annie Jump Cannon (Radcliffe special student, ca. 1895) near the beginning of Irwin's tenure may have influenced her thoughts about academia as an appropriate service vocation for women. Both went on to significant research during the rest of her tenure. Leavitt published her first suggestion of the period-luminosity relation of Cepheid variables in 1908, and Cannon served as assistant at Harvard College Observatory from 1896, earning an MA in astronomy from Wellesley in 1907. Thanks to James Turner for this observation. For brief biographies, see Peggy Aldrich Kidwell, "Leavitt, Henrietta Swan," http://www.anb.org/articles/13/13-00973.html, *American National Biography Online* (hereafter, *ANBO*), February 2000; and Katherine R. Sopka, "Cannon, Annie Jump," http://www.anb.org/articles/13/13-00247.html, *ANBO*, February 2000.

26. Agnes Irwin, Dean's Report, 1895, Folder 12, Box 1, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, SC 99, RCA; "Report of Dean Irwin to the President of Radcliffe College," 1909, History 1900–1909, Vertical Files, RCA. Marjorie T. Gregg (class of 1905), "The Clubs of Radcliffe," *Radcliffe Bulletin* 17 (1910): 3–11; Gloria Bruce, "Radcliffe Women at Play," in Ulrich, *Yards and Gates*, 139–46; "Irwin, Agnes, Dean Stall in Memory of," Folder 1, Agnes Irwin Papers, 1909–1947, RA.A/I72, RCA.

27. LeBaron Russell Briggs, Wellesley College Commencement Address, 1902, Folder: Commencement Addresses, 1895–1970, RG XXIV Series 5 RCA Subject Files, 1894–2006, RCA; "President Briggs' Address," *Radcliffe Bulletin* 3 (July 1906): 2–5, RCA; "President Briggs' Address," *Radcliffe Bulletin* 19 (August 1910): 6, RCA; LeBaron Russell Briggs, "Address by President Briggs, Registration Day, Sept. 23, 1913," 2–3, Folder 37, Mary Coes Papers, SC 22, RCA.

28. LeBaron Russell Briggs, Radcliffe Commencement Address, 1905, Folder 31, Box 1, Elizabeth Cary Agassiz Papers, Records of the President of Radcliffe College, SC 99, RCA.

29. Briggs, Wellesley College Commencement Address, 1902.

30. Mary Coes, Notes for an Address at Bryn Mawr, 1909, Folder 8, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Professor Byerly, "Tribute to Miss Coes by Professor Byerly in His Own Hand," [1913?], Folder 37, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA;

Lucia R. Briggs, "Memorial Meeting [for Mary Coes], November 10, 1913," Folder 37, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; LeBaron Russell Briggs, "Tribute to Miss Coes," Memorial Meeting, 1913, Folder 37, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA.

31. Mary Coes, "The College Woman of Today," n.d., ca. 1901–1904, Folder 4, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Mary Coes, "The Value of a College Education," n.d., Folder 35, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Mary Coes, Opening Day Address, 1909, Folder 7, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Coes, Notes for an Address at Bryn Mawr ; Mary Coes, Annual Report, 1909–1910, Folder 10, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Mary Coes, Notes for Commencement, 1910, Folder 11, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Mary Coes, Opening Day Address, 1910, Folder 12, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Mary Coes, "Radcliffe College: Academic and Social," 1894–1895, Folder 3, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Mary Coes, "Cultural Education," 1912, esp. 7–8, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA.

32. Mary Coes, "The Affiliate College," Association of Collegiate Alumnae Meeting, 1912, 11–14, Folder 27, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA; Miss Coes to Miss Wunder, July 19, 1913, Folder 51, Box 3, Series 1, Radcliffe College Student Activities Collection, 1882–1998, RG XXX, RCA; Mary Coes, Address to the Radcliffe Club of New York, 1910, Folder 13, Papers of Mary Coes, SC 22, RCA.

33. I call this the "Annie Oakley argument" for women's colleges: "Anything you can do, we can do better."

34. For biographies of Lowell, see Henry Aaron Yeomans, *Abbott Lawrence Lowell, 1856–1943* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1948); and Edward L. Lach Jr., "Lowell, A. Lawrence," http://www.anb.org/articles/09/09-00449.html, *ANBO,* February 2000.

35. A. Lawrence Lowell, "Dormitories," to the Harvard Club of New York, January 1904, Box 1, President's Papers: Abbott Lawrence Lowell, UA I 15.896, HUA; A. Lawrence Lowell, "American Universities and the Formation of National Character," *Harvard Bulletin* 9 (May 29, 1907): 1–4; "Reception to New Students," *Harvard Bulletin* 11 (October 14, 1908), 1; A. Lawrence Lowell, "President Lowell's Inaugural Address," in Morison, *Development of Harvard University*, lxxix–lxxxviii; A. Lawrence Lowell, "A Greeting to Freshmen, Sept. 25, 1910," Box 1, President's Papers: Abbott Lawrence Lowell, UA I 15.896, HUA; A. Lawrence Lowell, "The Selective Function of Education," 1914, Box 2, President's Papers: Abbott Lawrence Lowell, UA I 15.896, HUA. In arguing against academic overspecialization by students, Lowell averred that Harvard is American, not German, and must prepare students for participation in republican civic life, not only for success in research. A. Lawrence Lowell, "Inaugural Address," in Morison, *Development of Harvard University*, lxxx–lxxxi.

36. See, especially, A. Lawrence Lowell, "Sermon at Emmanuel Church Service for Men Students," 1902, Box 1, President's Papers: Abbott Lawrence Lowell, UA I 15.896, HUA; Lowell, "American Universities and the Formation of National Character."

37. A. Lawrence Lowell, Radcliffe College Commencement Address, 1911, Box 2, President's Papers: Abbott Lawrence Lowell, UA I 15.896, HUA; A. Lawrence Lowell, "The Need for a More Scientific Study of Higher Education," in *Mount Holyoke*

College: The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, South Hadley, Massachusetts, October Eighth and Ninth, Nineteen Hundred and Twelve (South Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1913), 119–22; A. Lawrence Lowell, Remarks before the Junior League, February 11, 1920, Box 3, President's Papers: Abbott Lawrence Lowell, UA I 15.896, HUA; LeBaron Russell Briggs to A. Lawrence Lowell, January 19, 1914, Folder 1358, Box 42, President Lowell's Papers, UAI.5.160, HUA.

38. For Briggs and Lowell's correspondence regarding Radcliffe over the years 1911–1917, see Folder 1358, Box 42, President Lowell's Papers, UAI.5.160, HUA. The other two "kittens" were Harvard's Botanic Garden and the Harvard School of Education. Adam S. Sofen, "Radcliffe Enters Historic Merger with Harvard," *Harvard Crimson*, April 21, 1999, 9, http://www.thecrimson.com/article.aspx?ref=96506.

Chapter 7

1. Patricia Ann Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 9. Excellent modern works cover the history of the early years of Wellesley: Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*; and Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984). Other helpful works on early Wellesley include Jean Glasscock, ed., *Wellesley College 1875–1975: A Century of Women* (Wellesley, MA: Wellesley College, 1975); Florence Morse Kingsley, *The Life of Henry Fowle Durant, Founder of Wellesley College* (New York: Century, 1924); and Florence Converse, *The Story of Wellesley* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1919).

2. For an overview of these intellectual and religious changes, see chapter 1. For an overview of changes in student life, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987).

3. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 7–9; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 42–43.

4. Charlotte Howard Conant, *Address Delivered in Memory of Henry Fowle Durant in Wellesley College Chapel, February Eighteenth MDCCCCVI* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1906), 24; Anne Eugenia Morgan, "An Interpretation of the Genius of Henry Fowle Durant," *Wellesley Magazine* 4 (1895): 119–27 at 125.

5. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 7; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 42. Conant, *Address Delivered in Memory of Henry Fowle Durant*, 13–16, 20–22. Quotation reproduced in Conant, *Address Delivered in Memory of Henry Fowle Durant*, 21.

6. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 9; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 43–44. Quotation in Conant, *Address Delivered in Memory of Henry Fowle Durant*, 27–28.

7. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 42, 46, 53; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 7–8, 40; Conant, *Address Delivered in Memory of Henry Fowle Durant*, 30. "Evangelical church" signified a Trinitarian Protestant denomination.

8. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 53–55; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 10–13.

9. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 53–55; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 10–13.

10. Henry Fowle Durant, *Notes of Mr. Durant's Sermon on "The Spirit of the College"* (Boston: Frank Wood, 1890), 3–4. A handwritten note on the copy in the Wellesley College Archives (hereafter, WCA) reads "probably delivered Septem-

ber 23, 1877." Wellesley included the traditional finishing school subjects of studio art and music performance within its curriculum, but did not require them. The college pioneered in setting them on a genuinely academic basis, and insisted that students desiring to pursue these subjects study for a fifth year beyond the standard liberal arts course rather than allowing them to be substituted for traditionally collegiate subjects. See Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 84.

11. Durant, *"Spirit of the College,"* 4–5. Letter quoted in Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 44.

12. Durant, *"Spirit of the College,"* 4–5, 12–13.

13. Inscription quoted in Conant, *Address Delivered in Memory of Henry Fowle Durant*, 28; Durant, *"Spirit of the College."*

14. Durant, *"Spirit of the College."*

15. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 49–53, 85.

16. Michelle A. Spinelli, "Scudder, Vida Dutton," http://www.anb.org/articles/09/09-00669.html, *American National Biography Online,* February 2000.

17. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 39–40.

18. Ibid., 74–76, 82. On the social gospel, see, for example, Heath W. Carter, *Union Made: Working People and the Rise of Social Christianity in Chicago* (New York: Oxford, 2015); Matthew Bowman, *The Urban Pulpit: New York City and the Fate of Liberal Evangelicalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014); Gary Scott Smith, *The Search for Social Salvation: Social Christianity and America, 1880–1925* (New York: Lexington Books, 2000); Paul T. Phillips, *A Kingdom on Earth: Anglo-American Social Christianity, 1880–1940* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); and Susan Curtis, *A Consuming Faith: The Social Gospel and Modern American Culture* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991).

19. Vida D. Scudder, "The Relation of College Women to Social Need," *Journal of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae* 2, no. 30 (October 24, 1890): 1–16 at 2–3.

20. Ibid., 3–7.

21. For an excellent analysis of the settlement house movement, see Mina Carson, *Settlement Folk: Social Thought and the American Settlement Movement, 1885–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

22. Scudder, "Relation of College Women to Social Need," 10, 13.

23. Ibid., 12, 16.

24. Scudder initially called the emerging field of social work "sociological work." Ibid., 3.

25. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 15, 13–16.

26. Ibid., 16–18, 20–25. For a modern biography of Alice Freeman Palmer, see Ruth Bordin, *Alice Freeman Palmer: The Evolution of a New Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1993). Palmer's husband also wrote a biography of her: George Herbert Palmer, *The Life of Alice Freeman Palmer* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908).

27. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 194; Alice Freeman Palmer, "Why Go to College?" in *The Teacher: Essays and Addresses on Education*, ed. George Herbert Palmer and Alice Freeman Palmer (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908), 364–95 at 392. Wellesley's motto comes from Matthew 20:26–28 (KJV): "Whosoever will be great among you, let him be your minister; And whosoever will be chief among you, let him be your

servant: Even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many."

28. Alice E. Freeman, "Influence of Women's Education on National Character," *American Institute of Instruction Proceedings*, 1885, 170–73 at 171, WCA; Palmer, "Why Go to College?" 386, 391–93; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 26–34; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 85–87.

29. Palmer, "Why Go to College?" 392–94; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 85–87; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 26–34; Sarah F. Whiting, "Evolution of the Wellesley College Christian Association," *Wellesley College News, Magazine Section* 22, no. 9 (June 1914): 7–9. Eliza Hall Kendrick, "History of Bible Teaching at Wellesley College, 1875–1950," 1930, ed. by her colleagues, 1950, 14, 17, 28–29, WCA; Ellen Fitz Pendleton, "The Function of a College," Addresses at the Inauguration of Ellen Fitz Pendleton, M.A., Litt.D., as President of Wellesley College, *Wellesley College News* 20 (1911): 1–9 at 2; *The Christian Association of Wellesley College Annual Report*, 1905/06–1917/18, WCA.

30. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 85–87; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 31; *Wellesley College Calendar*, 1881/82–1885/86, WCA.

31. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 37, 44. Though both believed in a dual-career marriage (quite unusual at the time), Palmer made it a condition of marriage that Freeman give up her presidency. He was concerned for her health under the stresses of the position, longed for her companionship, and did not want to go against social expectations by being the one to relocate on his wife's behalf. He did, however, encourage her continuing public pursuits on behalf of the higher education of women, including her acceptance of a commuting position as dean of women at the University of Chicago from 1892 to 1895 (she lived in Chicago twelve weeks out of the year). For an analysis of the courtship and marriage of the couple, see Lori Kenschaft, *Reinventing Marriage: The Love and Work of Alice Freeman Palmer and George Herbert Palmer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005).

32. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 204–5; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 38–42; *Wellesley College Calendar*, 1888/89–1891/92; Alexander McKenzie, "Definiteness of Purpose," newspaper clipping (n.p., n.d.), 1DB3 Helen A Shafer, WCA; Sarah E. Capps and Winifred Augsbury, "A Student View," *Wellesley Magazine* 2 (1894): 234; Marion Pelton Guild, "President Shafer's Official Career," *Wellesley Magazine* 2 (1894): 238–39.

33. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 204–9; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 42–49; *Wellesley College Calendar*, 1893/94–1897/98, WCA; Mary Case, "Appreciation of President Irvine by Prof. Emeritus Mary Case," handwritten version, WCA; Mary S. Case, notes for "An Appreciation of President Irvine," Julia Irvine Papers, WCA.

34. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 45–49; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 204–9.

35. Katharine Stanley Hall (class of 1909), "I Remember—V: When Miss Hazard Planted Daffodils by Lake Waban," *Wellesley Alumnae Magazine*, 1925, 16–17; Caroline Hazard, "Inaugural Address," *A Record of the Inauguration of Caroline Hazard, Litt. D., as President of Wellesley College, III October MDCCCXCIX* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1899), 8–14 at 11–13, esp. 12. In Palmieri's words, Hazard was the perfect choice because "she possessed the genteel social graces of the elite, a practical un-

derstanding of business, a fondness for reform causes, and some collegiate education." Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 49.

36. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 49–54; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 208–10; Caroline Hazard, "President's Annual Report," *Annual Reports of the President and Treasurer of Wellesley College*, 1899–1904, WCA. Quotation from Hazard, "President's Annual Report," *Annual Reports*, 1902, 3–9 at 3.

37. Hazard, "Inaugural Address," 8–10, 13–14; Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 49, 53.

38. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 235–44.

39. Ellen Fitz Pendleton, "Some Religious Aspects of the Higher Education of Women in the United States," Report of the Tenth Conference of the World's Student Christian Federation, Lake Mohonk, New York, June 2–8, 2013, ed. World's Student Christian Federation (New York: World's Student Christian Federation, 1913), 201–205. Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden*, 80, 233.

40. Pendleton, "Function of a College," 2; Ellen Fitz Pendleton, "Must a College Education Be Vocational in Order to Be Practical?" in *Mount Holyoke College: The Seventy-Fifth Anniversary* (South Hadley, MA: Mount Holyoke College, 1912), 112–14 at 113; Pendleton, "Function of a College," 1; Untitled press release reporting a speech by Pendleton, Wellesley College, Wellesley, Massachusetts, Spring 1936, 3, 2, Ellen Pendleton Papers, Biographical, WCA.

Chapter 8

1. Charles W. Eliot, "Address of Welcome," in *A Record of the Inauguration of Caroline Hazard, Litt. D., as President of Wellesley College, III October MDCCCXCIX* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1899), 14–19; M. Carey Thomas, "Address to Students at the Opening of the Academic Year 1899–1900, Oct. 10, 1899," typescript, Papers of M. Carey Thomas, Reel 182, Bryn Mawr College Archives (hereafter, BMCA); M. Carey Thomas, "Should Higher Education for Women Differ from That of Men?" in *Proceedings of the 14th Annual Convention of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, 1900* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1901), 10–20; M. Carey Thomas, "Should the Higher Education of Women Differ from That of Men?" *Educational Review* 21 (1901): 1–10. An engaging analysis of this exchange can be found in Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, "The Great Debate: Charles W. Eliot and M. Carey Thomas," in *Yards and Gates: Gender in Harvard and Radcliffe History*, ed. Laurel Thatcher Ulrich (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 129–37.

2. *Proceedings of a Conference on Education in the Society of Friends, Held at Haverford College, Penn., Seventh Month 6th and 7th, 1880* (Philadelphia, PA: J. H. Culbertson, 1880), 28. Two excellent modern books, both by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, cover the history of the early years of Bryn Mawr: *The Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994); and *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1984). Also helpful on early Bryn Mawr are Katherine V. Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose: Religion and Academics in the Bryn Mawr College Curriculum,

1885–1915," *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education* 27 (2008): 63–102; Eric Pumroy, "Bryn Mawr College," in *Founded by Friends: The Quaker Heritage of Fifteen American Colleges and Universities*, ed. John W. Oliver Jr. et al. (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 147–62; and Edith Finch, *Carey Thomas of Bryn Mawr* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1947).

3. For an in-depth history of Taylor's brand of Quakerism, see Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800–1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988).

4. Some Hicksites also valued higher education. Swarthmore College, founded in 1864, was Hicksite.

5. For an excellent overview of the religious background of the founders of Bryn Mawr, see Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 65–72.

6. *Proceedings of a Conference on Education in the Society of Friends*, 28; Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 72–77; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 105–11.

7. "Will of Dr. Joseph W. Taylor," October 25, 1877, recopied at the beginning of the first volume of Board of Trustees' Minutes, 8, BMCA.

8. Ibid., 7, 6, 7–8; Joseph Taylor, "Considerations to govern My Trustees," February 14, 1878, Haverford College Archives (hereafter, HCA). Emphasis original. Although many Pennsylvania Quakers were rich, ostentation of all kinds was historically a bugaboo for the religious group. Bryn Mawr's accommodations were to be amenable to the wealthy, but in a clean, simple, elegant way. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 106–7.

9. "Will of Dr. Joseph W. Taylor," 7–8; Joseph Taylor, "Letter to the Board in Charge of 'the College for the Higher Education of Females,' " August 1, 1877, HCA. Emphases original.

10. *Proceedings of a Conference on Education in the Society of Friends*, 24; Daniel C. Gilman, "Suggestions for the Organization of Bryn Mawr College," ibid., 80; L. Clark Seelye, "Suggestions for the Organization of Bryn Mawr College," ibid., 81–90; Annie E. Johnson, "Suggestions for the Organization of Bryn Mawr College," ibid., 91–95. Gilman helpfully noted, however, that what constituted the curriculum at "the best colleges" for men was in dispute at the time.

11. Taylor, "Letter to the Board." Emphasis original. It should be noted, however, that this was the same letter that specified that Bryn Mawr was to give women not only an advanced education, but "especially a *Religious guarded education*, in accordance with the Doctrines and Principles of Friends." See also Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 74. Emphasis original.

12. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 111; *Proceedings of a Conference on Education in the Society of Friends*.

13. *Proceedings of a Conference on Education in the Society of Friends*, 25–29. In particular, Elizabeth King spoke little of the Quaker purpose of Bryn Mawr either at the conference or in the publicity pamphlet for the new college that she had written the year before: E. T. King, "Suggestions for the Organization of the Proposed Female College at Bryn Mawr, Pa.," Baltimore, Maryland, January 20, 1879, BMCA. For a detailed discussion of the primary emphasis the pamphlet placed on high-quality academics at Bryn Mawr, see Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 74–75. This article,

however, mistakenly attributes the pamphlet to Elizabeth's father, Francis T. King, future president of Bryn Mawr's board.

14. James Rhoads to Henry Hartshorne, February 20, 1885, Hartshorne Family Papers, Quaker Collection, HCA.

15. Pumroy, "Bryn Mawr College," 150; Hartshorne to Rhoads, February 18 and 21, 1885, Hartshorne Family Papers, Quaker Collection, HCA.

16. Hartshorne to Rhoads, February 21, 1885.

17. *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1885–86* (Philadelphia, PA: Sherman, 1885), 6–7, 11–12; Rhoads to Hartshorne, February 20, 1885; James Rhoads, "To the Editor of *Friends' Review*," *Friends' Review* 38 (1885): 588. Hartshorne's response to Rhoads's explanation of the final form of Bryn Mawr: "Thanks for thy very kind and clear explanation. I understand it all: a victory of secularizing intellectuality over Christian culture; begun at Johns Hopkins, and continued in its annex." Hartshorne to Rhoads, February 21, 1885.

18. Pliny Earle Chase, "Ends of College Education," in *Proceedings of a Conference on Education in the Society of Friends*, 127–36 at 133; John Huss, "Chase, Pliny Earle," http://www.anb.org/articles/13/13-00277.html, *American National Biography Online* (hereafter, *ANBO*), February 2000; *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1885–86*, 3–4; *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1886–87*, 3–4; *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1887-88*, 3–4; M. Carey Thomas, "Address of Welcome," First Evening of Conference of Friends' Summer School of Religious History and Bryn Mawr College Christian Union Conference, June 14, 1907, Taylor Hall Chapel, 5, BMCA. Bible and moral philosophy played a surprisingly small role, even in Bryn Mawr's original curriculum. Neither subject had a full-time professor or offered many courses. Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 80–84.

19. *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1889*, 3–4; Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 85–89.

20. *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1885–86*, 36; *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1889*, 52; Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 93–94; *Lantern*, 1892, 111, BMCA. The *Lantern* was Bryn Mawr's student literary magazine. It also reported on student activities.

21. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 111–13; Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 77–78; M. Carey Thomas, "Our Uneducated Quaker Women and Their Effect on the Quaker Church," Educational Conference of the Committee on Education of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, Twelfth Month, 1915, reprinted from the *Westonian*, First Month, 1916, HCA; *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1885–86*, 3–4. For an exceptional analysis of Thomas's life, see Horowitz, *Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas*.

22. Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 77–80, 90–94; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 113. I follow Sedgwick's interpretation that the trustees were ambivalent about Bryn Mawr's dual academic and religious purposes and bore substantial responsibility for the school's ultimate direction by bringing on Thomas in the first place. Although Thomas drove much of the change at Bryn Mawr, and she and the board fought over many issues, if retaining Bryn Mawr's Quaker identity had been the top priority for the board, they could have done it. Thomas was extremely influential, but she did not just run over them.

23. See, for example, M. Carey Thomas, "Present Tendencies in Women's College and University Education," *Educational Review* 35 (1908): 64–85 at 82–85; "Why America Prospers," *Patriot* (Bridgton, NJ), June 10, 1904, BMCA; Thomas, "Address before the Graduate Club of Bryn Mawr College," October 1906, 2–3, BMCA.

24. Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 111–13. See also Horowitz, *Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas*, 1–181. Thomas's drive to prove women's equality with men manifested itself in her personal life through a rejection of marriage and involvement in several lesbian relationships. On philology, see James Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

25. Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 83–84.

26. Eliot, "Address of Welcome," *Record of the Inauguration of Caroline Hazard*, 17; M. Carey Thomas, "Should Higher Education for Women Differ from That of Men?" *Proceedings of the 14th Annual Convention of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland*, 1900, 12, 17, 13, 16–17; Charles W. Eliot, "Women's Education—A Forecast," Association of Collegiate Alumnae Publications, February 1908, 101–5, Folder 216, Box 221, Records of the President of Harvard University: Charles William Eliot, UAI 5.150, HUA. Data from the turn of the century indicates that college women actually married at around the rate of 50 percent as compared with about 90 percent of the general population, although this statistic does not take into account the fact that more college women belonged to the richer classes, which had a lower marriage rate overall. See Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 119–22.

27. Thomas, "Present Tendencies in Women's College and University Education," 76–80; Thomas, "The Ideal College," Address before the Graduate Club of Bryn Mawr College, November 18, 1909, 5–14, BMCA; Thomas, "Should Higher Education for Women Differ from That of Men?" 18–19.

28. Thomas, "Present Tendencies in Women's College and University Education," 78–80; M. Carey Thomas, "Address at the Annual Luncheon of the Emma Willard Association, November 14, 1902," 6–7, 10–11, BMCA; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, 114, 126–27.

29. Thomas, "Present Tendencies in Women's College and University Education," 64–65. Emphasis added.

30. Thomas, "Address of Welcome," 3–6 at 6. For a thoughtful psychological analysis of Thomas's resistance to submitting to traditional evangelical conversion as advocated by her Orthodox Quaker family, see Horowitz, *Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas*, 1–142.

31. Thomas, "Address of Welcome," 5; *Bryn Mawr College Program, 1887–88*, 3; Benjamin R. Foster, "Barton, George Aaron," http://www.anb.org/articles/09/09-01079.html, *ANBO,* February 2000; Horowitz, *Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas*, 415; Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 86–87; George Barton, "Transcript of a Speech Delivered by Dr. Barton, Penn Athletic Club, Philadelphia, Thursday, November 2, 1939, 80th Birthday Celebration," 13, Faculty File 3H: Barton, George A. 1859–1942, BMCA.

32. M. Carey Thomas, "Address to the Christian Union, Rockefeller Hall, 6 October 1905,"1–6 at 2, BMCA; Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 93–94; *Lantern*, 1892, 111, BMCA; M. Carey Thomas to Grace H. Dodge, November 11, 1908, M. Carey Thomas Official Papers, Reel 117, BMCA; M. Carey Thomas to the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America, May 17, 1909, BMCA.

33. Thomas to Dodge, November 11, 1908; Thomas, "Address to the Christian Union," 4–5. Thomas's liberal views on religion did not extend to embracing Jews; although Bryn Mawr admitted some, she continued to discriminate against Jews as both students and instructors, most likely as a means of asserting her social standing by adopting the prejudices of the upper classes. In similar manner, Bryn Mawr did not admit African American students at all. For Thomas's attitude toward Jews and African Americans, see Horowitz, *Power and Passion of M. Carey Thomas*, 226, 230–32, 340–43, 364–65, 381–82, 428–29, 449, and 451.

34. *Lantern*, 1892, 102, 110; 1913, 99; and 1914, BMCA.

35. Thomas, "Address to the Christian Union," 5.

36. Pumroy, "Bryn Mawr College," 159–60; M. Carey Thomas, "Chapel Address, 19 December 1912," 8–9, BMCA; M. Carey Thomas, "Chapel Address, 25 February 1913," 2, BMCA; M. Carey Thomas, "Address," *The American Friends' Peace Conference, Philadelphia, Twelfth Month 12th, 13th, and 14th, 1901* (Philadelphia, PA: Published by the Conference, 1902); Mary Ann Dzuback, "Women and Social Research at Bryn Mawr College," *History of Education Quarterly* 33 (Winter, 1993): 579–608. In the mid-1910s and early 1920s, Thomas began to claim that not only would the social order benefit from women's education because more of its members would be enlightened but also that a "woman's point of view" and a "different women's outlook" would uplift social and political life. Horowitz, "Great Debate," 136–37.

Chapter 9

1. Major works on the University of Michigan during this period include: Jeffrey Bouman, "Non-sectarian, Not Secular: Students' Curricular and Co-Curricular Experience with Christian Faith at Brown University, the University of Michigan, and Cornell University, 1850–1920" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2004); James Turner and Paul Bernard, "The German Model and the Graduate School: The University of Michigan and the Origin Myth of the American University," in *The American College in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Roger Geiger (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2000), 221–41; Ruth Bordin, *Women at Michigan: The "Dangerous Experiment," 1870s to the Present* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); Alfred Skerpan, "A Place for God: Religion, State Universities, and American Society, 1865–1920" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998); George M. Marsden, *Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 167–80; John Parker Huber, *Toward Camelot: The Admission of Women to the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor: Michigan Historical Collections, University of Michigan,

1970); and Howard H. Peckham, *The Making of the University of Michigan, 1817–1967* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1967).

2. *Calendar of the University of Michigan for 1888–89* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1889), 29–30; Skerpan, "A Place for God," 177–286; Peckham, *Making of the University of Michigan*, 69–73; Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 7–18, 36. I am indebted to Bordin for the periodization of women's experience at the University of Michigan during these years, which helps structure this chapter.

3. James Angell, "Religious Life in Our State Universities," *Andover Review: A Religious and Theological Monthly* 13 (April 1890): 365–72; Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 167–80; Peckham, *Making of the University of Michigan*, 75, 79–80, 95–96.

4. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 9–10; Andrew D. White, *Report Submitted to the Trustees of Cornell University, in Behalf of a Majority of the Committee on Mr. Sage's Proposal to Endow a College for Women* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1872), 16–18; Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 176–77.

5. James Angell, "Shall the American Colleges Be Open to Both Sexes?" *Rhode Island Schoolmaster* 17 (August 1871), reprinted in James Burrill Angell, *Selected Addresses* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1912), 265–69; James Angell, *Commemorative Oration, Delivered on Thursday, June 30, 1887, at the Semi-centennial Celebration of the Organization of the University* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1888), 26. See also James Angell, *The President's Report to the Board of Regents for the Year Ending June 30, 1891* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1891), 19–20, 25.

6. Angell, *President's Report*, 1891, 30; Angell, *Commemorative Oration*, 28. Emphasis added to point to direct quotation from Isaiah 55:1, KJV.

7. James Angell, *A Memorial Discourse on the Life and Services of Henry Simmons Frieze, Delivered in University Hall, March 16, 1890* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1890), 19–20; Henry Simmons Frieze, *The Relations of the State University to Religion: An Address Delivered before the Graduating Classes, on Sunday Evening, June 26, 1887, at the Semi-Centennial of the University* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1888). See also Henry Frieze, *The President's Report to the Board of Regents for the Year Ending June 30, 1871* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1871), 6.

8. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 15, 19; Peckham, *Making of the University of Michigan*, 82, 87.

9. Skerpan, "A Place for God," 245; Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 171–72.

10. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 19–22; Peckham, *Making of the University of Michigan*, 89–90.

11. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 23–25, 35–36; Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 3–4; "The Woman's League," *Michigan Alumnus* 13 (February 1907): 210–11.

12. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 28–29.

13. Ibid., 32–33, 36–37.

14. Ibid., 33; Florence Hazzard, "Eliza Maria Mosher, 1845–1928," Biographical and Genealogical 2, Box 2, Eliza Mosher Papers, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan Archives (hereafter, UMA), 5–9. Surprisingly little has been written on Mosher, considering that she was the first senior faculty woman at what was

arguably the most influential state university in the United States. Brief references to her occur in Jana Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women: More than Wise and Pious Matrons* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000); and Regina Markell Morantz-Sanchez, *Sympathy and Science: Women Physicians in American Medicine* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), but neither work analyzes her thought in any detail. See also Regina Morantz-Sanchez, "Mosher, Eliza Maria," http://www.anb.org/articles/12/12-00648.html, *American National Biography Online*, February 2000.

15. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 29–30, 33–34; James Angell, *The President's Report to the Board of Regents for the Year Ending June 30, 1896* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1896), 20; Harry Hutchins, *The President's Report to the Board of Regents for the Year Ending June 30, 1891* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1897), 9; "Her Great Work: A Sketch of Dr. Mosher and the Woman's Building at Ann Arbor," *Battle Creek Daily News*, November 26, 1897, Newspaper Clippings: General, Box 2, Women's League Papers, UMA.

16. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 34–37; Eliza Mosher, "Greeting," n.d., MSS of Addresses/Speeches 3, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA.

17. Eliza Mosher, "The Influence of a Business Life upon Women: A Paper Read before the N.Y. Women's Unitarian Club," n.d., MSS of Addresses/Speeches 3, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA; "Banning of Student Automobiles Was Wise Move, Dr. Eliza Mosher First 'U' Dean of Women, Asserts," n.d., *Ann Arbor Times News*, Clippings re: Mosher and the University of Michigan, Box 4, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA.

18. Eliza Mosher, "Young Women's Christian Association, Brooklyn, Sunday Afternoon," n.d., MSS of Addresses/Speeches 3, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA; Eliza Mosher, "Woman's Work," n.d., Writings/Lectures, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA; Eliza Mosher, "The Health of American Women," n.d., Writings/Lectures, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA; Mosher, "Influence of a Business Life"; Mosher, "Banning of Student Automobiles."

19. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 33–34; Eliza Mosher, Untitled Reminiscences, 6, MSS of Addresses/Speeches 2, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA; Eliza Mosher, "The Importance of a Scientific and Technical Education as a Preparation for Home Making," MSS of Addresses/Speeches 1, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA; Mosher, "Young Women's Christian Association." Several sources incorrectly claim that the University of Michigan never offered home economics during this era. See, for example, Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 24.

20. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 33–34; Eliza Mosher, "For the Sake of Billy: A Message to Boys," MSS of Addresses/Speeches 2, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA; Eliza Mosher, Untitled, on Primitive Women's Relation to Children, n.d., MSS of Addresses/Speeches 1, Box 3, Eliza Mosher Papers, UMA.

21. Mosher, "Greeting."

22. Mosher, Untitled Reminiscences, 7–8.

23. Hazzard, "Eliza Maria Mosher," 12.

24. "Her Great Work: A Sketch of Dr. Mosher"; David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 32–35; C. Grey Austin, *A Century of Religion at the University of Michigan: A Case Study of Religion and the State University* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan

Press, 1957), 4–5. For examples of activities of the Student Christian Association (SCA), Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), see chapter 11. For an overview of national YMCA priority changes during this era, see Setran, *The College "Y,"* 13–154. For a similar overview of the YWCA, see Elizabeth Wilson, *Fifty Years of Association Work among Young Women, 1866–1916: A History of Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States of America* (New York: National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States of America, 1916), 108–52, 269–80.

25. When Mosher resigned, believing her start-up work to be complete, Angell had some qualms about continuing the sort of odd, quasi-faculty position that Mosher had held as dean of women, but concluded that public opinion demanded the continued supervision of women. Mosher recommended a successor who was "a scholarly woman," shortly to receive a doctorate from Columbia. Angell, however, chose to resolve his doubts about maintaining a quasi-faculty position by appointing a woman with no graduate training to the post. See Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 36–37.

26. Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 36–37; YWCA Advisory Board Minutes 1916–1920, Box 5, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA; SCA Board of Trustees and Finance Committee Minutes 1915–1916, Box 1, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA; Myra Jordan, *Report of the Dean of Women*, 1909–1920, Box 19, Harry Hutchins Papers, UMA; *Calendar of the University of Michigan for 1909–10* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1910), 5–6, 3.

27. Jordan, *Report of the Dean of Women*, 4; *Bulletin of the Women's League of the University of Michigan*, 1914–1915, UMA, 7, 10–11; *Contract between the Student Christian Association and the Board of Regents of the University of Michigan, Relative to Newberry Residence, and Other Documents regarding the Same*, Folder: Newberry Residence Hall, Box 6, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA; Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 37.

28. "A Proposal for a Dean of Men," *Michigan Alumnus* 25 (June 1919): 549; "A Dean of Students," *Michigan Alumnus* 27 (March 1921): 337–38; Bordin, *Women at Michigan*, 36–37.

29. YMCA Report/Prospectus, 1914/15, Box 6, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA.

30. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 176–77.

31. James Angell, "The Manliness of the Christian Life," Box 8, James Angell Papers, UMA; James Angell, "History of My Religious Experience," December 31, 1849, Box 8, James Angell Papers, UMA; Angell, *President's Report*, 1891, 30. On changing ideals of manhood, see Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880–1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995).

32. Angell, "Religious Life in Our State Universities," *Andover Review* 13 (1890): 370–71. On muscular Christianity, see L. Dean Allen, *Rise Up, O Men of God: The Men and Religion Forward Movement and Promise Keepers* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2002); Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001); and Gail Bederman, "'The Women Have Had Charge of the Church Work Long

Enough': The Men and Religion Forward Movement of 1911–1912 and the Masculinization of Middle-Class Protestantism," *American Quarterly* 14 (1989): 432–65.

33. Peckham, *Making of the University of Michigan*, 114–17; Jordan, *Report of the Dean of Women*, 1909–1920; *Calendar of the University of Michigan for 1909–10* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1910).

34. Harry Hutchins, "The Individual Responsibility of College Women," n.d. (but likely 1912), 16, Folder 29: Speeches, Box 19, Harry Hutchins Papers, UMA; Peckham, *Making of the University of Michigan*, 117.

35. Hutchins, "Individual Responsibility of College Women," 15–17.

36. Harry Hutchins to G. H. Wilkinson, June 27, 1919, Folder 20, Box 17, Harry Hutchins Papers, UMA; Harry Hutchins to Frank L. Jewett, May 27, 1910, Folder 33, Box 1, Harry Hutchins Papers, UMA; Harry Hutchins, "Democracy Now: What Next?" Baccalaureate Address, June 20, 1920, 22, Folder 29: Speeches, Box 19, Harry Hutchins Papers, UMA.

37. Peckham, *Making of the University of Michigan*, 109–10; Setran, *The College 'Y,'* 87–93, 159–62, esp. 161. For more details on Michigan student religious life and the Union controversy, see chapter 11.

38. "A Proposal for a Dean of Men"; "A Dean of Students"; *Calendar of the University of Michigan for 1917–18* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1918), 72; "Report by Sarita Davis Given at General Membership Meeting, University Young Women's Christian Association, January 20, 1927," 1–2, Folder: University YWCA Miscellaneous, Box 5, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA.

Chapter 10

1. Major works on the University of California during this period include: George M. Marsden, *The Soul of the American University: From Protestant Establishment to Established Nonbelief* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 134–149; Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 52–84; and Verne A. Stadtman, *The University of California, 1868–1968* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1970). On the founding of the University of California, see Stadtman, *University of California*, 1–60; and Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 134–40. See also Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 52.

2. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 144.

3. "The State University: Celebration of Charter Day at Berkeley: An Interesting Historical Address by Prof Kellogg—Sketch of the Origin And Seven Years' Career of the University—Its Present Condition and Requirements—Other Literary and Social Entertainments of the Day," *Daily Evening Post*, March 24, 1876, *Martin Kellogg Addresses/Speeches*, vol. 1, University of California Archives (hereafter, UCA); Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 52.

4. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 134–40.

5. This was not the same Henry Durant who founded Wellesley, although he had similar evangelical credentials: he was a Congregationalist minister who had graduated from Yale in the 1820s. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 141; Stadtman, *University of California*, 49–50; "Memorial Address for Henry Durant, L.L.D., Late President of the University of California, by Hon. John B. Felton, One of the

Regents of the University, March 1875," *Bulletins of the University of California*, 1–36, no. 10 (1875): 4, 8, UCA.

6. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 140–44; Daniel C. Gilman, *The Building of the University: An Inaugural Address Delivered at Oakland, Nov. 7th, 1872* (San Francisco: John H. Carmany, 1872), 23–24.

7. Quoted in Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 144.

8. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 144; Stadtman, *University of California*, 66–68.

9. Stadtman, *University of California*, 66–83.

10. Gilman, *Building of the University*, 18–19.

11. Numbers added to any headway that Gilman may have made with his rhetoric. Morrill funds only amounted to $450 a month, and the professor of agriculture alone earned $300 a month. The legislature therefore accepted that the institution clearly made ample provision for technical sciences alongside other studies. Stadtman, *University of California*, 68–106.

12. "The Aims and Objects of the Higher Education, Address of President John LeConte to the Graduating Class of the University of California, June 6, 1877," *Bulletins of the University of California* 1–36, no. 27 (1877): 233–39, UCA; Stadtman, *University of California*, 92–97; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 52–55.

13. "The State University by Horace Davis," *Oakland General Recorder*, 1889, *Horace Davis, Collected Reprints*, UCA.

14. Marsden, *Soul of the American University*, 144–46; Stadtman, *University of California*, 99–103.

15. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 52–55.

16. "Careers for the Educated, Lecture by Professor Martin Kellogg at the University Yesterday," *Oakland Daily Transcript*, September 30, 1876, *Martin Kellogg Addresses/Speeches*, vol. 1, no. 5, UCA; "The Future of College Training in California, by Martin Kellogg, President of the University of California," San Francisco, California, May 28, 1893, *Martin Kellogg Addresses/Speeches*, vol. 1, no. 24, UCA; Stadtman, *University of California*, 173–78.

17. Martin Kellogg, "A Year's Review," February 1898, *University Chronicle* (1898): 29, UCA; Martin Kellogg, "President's Commencement Address," 1898, *University Chronicle* (1898): 193–200, esp. 197–98; Kellogg, "The Future of College Training in California."

18. "Teaching Morality: Can We Have More Morality Taught in Our Schools if We Want It: How Much Is Taught at Present—An Important and Able Lecture by Prof. Kellogg, of the State University," *Oakland Evening Tribune*, January 7, 1879, *Martin Kellogg Addresses/Speeches*, vol. 1, no. 8, UCA; Kellogg, "A Year's Review," 29; Kellogg, "The Future of College Training in California."

19. "Human and Divine Law: A Lecture by Prof. M. Kellogg, before the Bible Students' Association of the State University," *Pacific*, July 25, 1878, *Martin Kellogg Addresses/Speeches*, vol. 1, no. 7, UCA; "The Remarks of Acting President Kellogg Welcoming the Fifth Annual College Conference of the YMCA," *1892–93 Student Handbook*, 15–16, Student Handbooks, UCA.

20. "The Students' Part in College, by Prof. Martin Kellogg," *Berkeleyan*, March 31, 1884, 5–8, esp. 7, *Martin Kellogg Addresses/Speeches*, vol. 1, no. 11, UCA. Emphasis original.

21. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "Opening Address 16 Aug 1909," Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, vol. 5, 1, UCA; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "Opening Address 17 August 1903," Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide Wheeler, vol. 2, 1, UCA; Stadtman, *Making of the University of California*, 173–201; Carroll Winslow Brentano, "Wheeler, Benjamin Ide," http://www.anb.org/articles/09/09-00793.html, *American National Biography Online*, February 2000.

22. "President Addresses Women Students, Speaks on Their Place in the University," *Daily Californian* 14 (September 1904): 1; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "Opening of College Hall for Women," *Berkeleyan*, August 20, 1909, *Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide Wheeler*, vol. 5, UCA; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "The Pioneer Mother," *Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide Wheeler*, vol. 7, no. 18a (1915), UCA.

23. Wheeler, "Pioneer Mother"; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "The American Boy, 12 Mar 1904, an Address at the Thacher School Quindecennial Celebration," 6–7, *Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide Wheeler*, vol. 2, UCA; Stadtman, *Making of the University of California*, 182–86.

24. Frances Linsley, *What* Is *This Place? An Informal History of 100 Years of Stiles Hall* (Berkeley, CA: Stiles Hall, 1984), 4; Dorothy Thelen Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point: 100 Years with the University YWCA* (Berkeley, CA: University YWCA, 1990), 1–3; "Address to the Students by President Benjamin Ide Wheeler at Opening University Meeting," August 20, 1917, *Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide Wheeler*, vol. 8, 10, UCA; Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "Opening Address at the Twentieth Annual Session of the National Association of State Universities," *University of California Chronicle* 17 (October 1915): 353–64 at 355–56.

25. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, *Annual Report of the President of the University of California*, 1913–1914, 14–15, UCA; Wheeler, "Opening Address 16 Aug 1909," 1; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 56–57.

26. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, *Address of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler to the Graduating Class, Commencement, 1917*, Folder: Untitled Speeches, 1896–1918, Carton 1, Benjamin Ide Wheeler Papers, UCA.

27. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, *Biennial Report of the President of the University of California*, 1904–1906, 13–14, UCA; Lucy Sprague Mitchell, *Two Lives: The Story of Wesley Clair Mitchell and Myself* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1953), 194; Brentano, "Wheeler, Benjamin Ide." California was unusual in establishing a dean of men position so early. Most state universities did not establish one until the 1920s. See Robert Schwartz, *Deans of Men and the Shaping of Modern College Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Deans of women, however, were already in vogue by the turn of the century. See Jana Nidiffer, *Pioneering Deans of Women: More than Wise and Pious Matrons* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000).

28. Mary Bennett Ritter, *More than Gold in California, 1849–1933* (Berkeley, CA: Professional Press, 1933), 201–3; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 59–60.

29. Ritter, *More than Gold in California*, 191–92, 204–6. See also Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 59.

30. Ritter, *More than Gold in California*, 206–14, esp. 208, 214. See also Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 59–60.

31. Ritter, *More than Gold in California*, 215; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 60–61.

32. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 61–62.

33. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, *Address of President Benjamin Ide Wheeler to the Graduating Class, Commencement, 1917*, Folder: Untitled Speeches, 1896–1918, Carton 1, Benjamin Ide Wheeler Papers, UCA; Wheeler, *Biennial Report of the President*, 1904–1906, 14–15; Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 191–94, esp. 194. For a modern biography of Sprague, see Joyce Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell: The Making of a Modern Woman* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987). On her years as dean of women at California, see particularly 91–114.

34. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 196–98, 200–201; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 67.

35. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 196–98, esp. 198. Antler notes that some of Sprague's emphasis on feminine beauty and refinement was class prejudice against the small town girls who went to California. Antler, *Lucy Sprague Mitchell*, 106–7.

36. Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 194–95, 198, 211, 207–10; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1910–1912, 62, UCA; Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 62–63.

37. Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point*, 27, 52–54; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1904–1906, 105, UCA.

38. *Biennial Report of the President*, 1906–1908, 80–81, UCA; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1904–1906, 105, UCA; Mitchell, *Two Lives*, 209–10, 199–200.

39. Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point*, 47, 53.

40. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 67–68; Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point*, 54–55.

41. *Annual Report of the President*, 1912–1913, 160–161, UCA; *Annual Report of the President*, 1913–1914, 193, 195–97, UCA; *Annual Report of the President*, 1914–1915, 258, 260, UCA; *Annual Report of the President*, 1915–1916, 280, UCA.

42. *Annual Report of the President*, 1914–1915, 259–60, UCA.

43. *Biennial Report of the President*, 1904–1906, 13–14; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1906–1908, 82–88; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1908–1910, 130–37; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1910–1912, 123–29, esp. 127; *Annual Report of the President*, 1912–1913, 97–98; *Annual Report of the President*, 1913–1914, 110–12; *Annual Report of the President*, 1914–1915, 158–60; *Annual Report of the President*, 1915–1916, 173–75; *Annual Report of the President*, 1916–1917, 130–32. UCA. On the backlash against Social Darwinism, see Robert C. Bannister, *Social Darwinism: Science and Myth in Anglo-American Social Thought* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2010).

44. *Biennial Report of the President*, 1904–1906, 13–14; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1906–1908, 17–18, 82–88; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1908–1910, 130–37; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1910–1912, 123–29; *Annual Report of the President*, 1912–1913, 9–11, 97–98; *Annual Report of the President*, 1913–1914, 16–19, 110–12; *Annual Report of the President*, 1914–1915, 158–60; *Annual Report of the President*, 1915–1916, 173–75; *Annual Report of the President*, 1916–1917, 130–32. UCA.

45. Benjamin Ide Wheeler, "Address at the Opening of the Pacific School of Religion," August 1904, *Pacific*, August 26, 1904, *Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide*

Wheeler, vol. 3, no. 4; Wheeler, "Pioneer Mother"; Linsley, *What* Is *This Place?* (Berkeley, CA: Stiles Hall, 1984), 17, 20; *Student Handbook*, 1904–1905, 10–11, UCA; Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point*, 53.

46. The reports of the dean of the lower division for these years never once mention the YMCA, but mention fraternities constantly. See, for example: *Biennial Report of the President*, 1908–1910, 134, 136; *Biennial Report of the President*, 1910–1912, 124–26, 128–29; *Annual Report of the President*, 1912–1913, 98; *Annual Report of the President*, 1913–1914, 111–12; *Annual Report of the President*, 1914–1915, 159–60; *Annual Report of the President*, 1915–1916, 174–75; *Annual Report of the President*, 1916–1917, 131, UCA. See also, Linsley, *What* Is *This Place?* 9–11, 17–29; and Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 54, 60.

47. *Annual Report of the President*, 1913–1914, 110–11; "A Student Union: To the Editor of *The Daily Californian*," *Daily Californian*, November 24, 1916, 1–2, *Writings and Addresses, Benjamin Ide Wheeler*, vol. 8, UCA.

Chapter 11

1. For overviews of the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) and Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA), see especially David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Nancy Marie Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood, Race Relations, and the YWCA, 1906–46* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Grace H. Wilson, *The Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Young Women's Christian Association: A Historical Study of the Changing Religious and Social Emphases of the Association as They Relate to Changes in Its Educational Philosophy, and Social Situations* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933); and C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y. M. C. A. in North America* (New York: Association Press, 1951).

2. Setran, *College "Y,"* 17–19.

3. Wilson, *Religious and Educational Philosophy*, 4–7; Clifford Putney, *Muscular Christianity: Manhood and Sports in Protestant America, 1880–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 153–54; Robertson, *Christian Sisterhood*, 13–14.

4. Setran, *College "Y,"* 13–37, 80–81. For an overview of collegiate extracurricular life during this era, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present* (New York: Knopf, 1987).

5. For overviews of these changes, see Setran, *College "Y"*; and Wilson, *Religious and Educational Philosophy*.

6. For a good overview of muscular Christianity in the YMCA, see Setran, *College "Y,"* 107–29.

7. Putney, *Muscular Christianity*, 155; Mary Sims, *The YWCA: An Unfolding Purpose* (New York: Woman's Press, 1950), 82–89, especially 88 and 90. For changes within the collegiate YWCA and its role in student religious life, see Wilson, *Religious and Educational Philosophy*.

8. Setran, *College "Y,"* especially 26–27, 80–81, 90; P. C. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service: Religious Ideals and Educational Practice, 1868–1928* (New York: Oxford

University Press, 1998), 160–61. For an overview of the history of the Philadelphian Society from its creation through World War I, including its cooperation with the administration during the Gilded Age and Progressive Era, see Daniel Edward Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances: Buchmanism and Student Religious Life at Princeton, 1919–1935" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 1995), 8–55.

9. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 96, 106–8; Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances," 27–55, quotation at 51.

10. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 56–57, 108–9, 160–63, 186–88.

11. *Report of the General Secretary of the Philadelphian Society*, 1915–1916, Princeton University Archives (hereafter, PUA); Bible Study Committee Chairman's Book 1893, Folder 8, Box 5, Student Christian Association Records, AC-135, PUA; "President's Report," *Philadelphian*, June 1902, 9–11, PUA; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 106–7, 160–63, 187; Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances," 50.

12. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 106–7, 160–63, 187; Sack, "Disastrous Disturbances," 43–44, 50; "President's Report," 4–27; *Report of the General Secretary of the Philadelphian Society*, 1910–1911, 1914–1915, and 1915–1916, all PUA.

13. Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service*, 163; *Report of the General Secretary,* 1910–11, 6–7, and 1915–1916; "Princeton and Service: Deputation Work of Princeton University," n.d., and "Princeton and Service: The Deputation Work of the Philadelphian Society, the Christian Association of Princeton University" (New York: Association Press, 1920), Philadelphian Society AC135, Box 13, Folder 8: Publications, PUA. As noted on page 3, "Princeton and Service" drew heavily from text in Fred M. Hansen and A. J. Elliott, "College Deputations for Evangelistic Work: Gospel Team Work; a Handbook of Principles and Methods" (New York: Association Press, 1912).

14. "President's Report," 4–27, 12.

15. *Report of the General Secretary,* 1915–1916, and 1914–15, 7; Kemeny, *Princeton in the Nation's Service,* 188–92.

16. *Princeton Social Service Bulletin*, 1st ed., December 1916, Philadelphian Society AC135, Box 12, Folder 6, PUA; *Report of the General Secretary,* 1914–1915, 10–11.

17. Josephine Curtis Scrapbook, Box 332, Historical Subject Files AC109, Series 29, Princeton Area, PUA; CO810 Edward Duffield Correspondence with Josephine Curtis, Rare Books and Special Collections, Harvey S. Firestone Library, Princeton University; "History of the Class of 1892, 1887–1892," Evelyn College, Historical Subject Files AC109, Series 29, Princeton Area, Box 330, Folder 10; "Literature and Shakespeare, 1892," ibid., Box 331, Folder 1.

18. "Historical Sketch of the Society of Christian Brethren of Harvard University. Delivered on the Occasion of the Dedication of Their New Society Room, Sept. 15, 1859," Records of the Harvard University Christian Association and Its Predecessor Organizations, HUD 3279, Box 1, Harvard University Archives (hereafter, HUA); "Constitution of the Society of Christian Brethren in Harvard University, 1869," HUD 3279, Box 1, HUA; Vol. III: Society of Christian Brethren Records, 1858–1864, and Vol. IV: Society of Christian Brethren Records, 1864–1870, HUD 3279, Box 13, HUA; Constitution of the Harvard Young Men's Christian Association, 1886, HUD 3279, Box 1, HUA.

19. "Statistical Records of the College Young Men's Christian Association, 1891–1892"; "Policy of the City Missions Committee of the Harvard Christian Association," 1899, 1902; "Proceedings of the Second Annual Autumn Conference of the Harvard Christian Association, Sept. 17–21, 1902"; and "From Annual Report July 1908," Folder: Constitution of 1908; all HUD 3279, Box 1, HUA; Setran, *College "Y,"* 126–27.

20. "Proceedings of the Second Annual Autumn Conference of the Harvard Christian Association, 3; "Harvard University Christian Association Brochure," 1903–1904, Folder: Printed Matter and Circulars, Loose Items, 1894–1924 and Undated, HUD 3279, Box 1, HUA.

21. Marjorie T. Gregg (class of 1905), "The Clubs of Radcliffe," *Radcliffe Bulletin* 17 (1910): 3–11, Radcliffe College Archives (hereafter, RCA), Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study; "Report of the President (Christian Association, Feb. 16, 1903," Folder 131, YWCA; Folder 133v: Radcliffe Young Women's Christian Association: Reports of the Intercollegiate Committee, 1905–1911; all RG XXX RC Student Activities Collection, 1882–1998, Series 1, Box 15, RCA. See chapter 5 for a detailed history of the early years of Radcliffe.

22. "Statistical Record of the Young Women's Christian Association of Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts for the year of March 1, 1907 to March 1, 1908"; and clipping describing the Joint Committee of the Emmanuel Club and the Christian Association, ca. 1907–1908, both Folder 131, YWCA; Folder 133v: Radcliffe Young Women's Christian Association: Reports of the Intercollegiate Committee, 1905–1911, RG XXX RC Student Activities Collection, 1882–1998, Series 1, Box 15, RCA.

23. Mary Coes to Suzanne Wunder, July 19, 1913, Folder 51, Box 3, Series 1, Radcliffe College Student Activities Collection, 1882–1998, RG XXX, RCA; *Radcliffe Student Handbook*, 1913, 13–17; Emmanuel Club Scholarship Fund Flier, 1911, Box 5, Folder 51: Radcliffe Guild, Series 1, Radcliffe College Student Activities Collection, 1882–1998, RG XXX, RCA; *1911 Radcliffe Redbook: Student's Handbook, Issued by the YWCA*, 9–14, RCA; Jane Addams, "The Modern City and the Municipal Franchise for Women," NAWSA Convention, February 1906, cited in Elizabeth Cobbs Hoffman et al., eds., *Major Problems in American History Volume II: Since 1865*, 3rd ed. (Boston: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning, 2012), 142–43. On the National Consumers League, see Kathryn Kish Sklar, *Florence Kelley and the Nation's Work: The Rise of Women's Political Culture, 1830–1900* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995). On the National Municipal League, see Frank Mann Stewart, *A Half Century of Municipal Reform: The History of the National Municipal League* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950).

24. Sarah F. Whiting, "Evolution of the Wellesley College Christian Association," *Wellesley College News, Magazine Section* 22, no. 9 (June 1914): 7–9; *The Christian Association of Wellesley College Annual Report* (hereafter, *WCCA Annual Report*), 1905/06–1917/18, Wellesley College Archives (hereafter, WCA).

25. Whiting, "Evolution of the Wellesley College Christian Association," 7–9. Annie Reynolds, a founding member of the Wellesley Missionary Society that predated the Christian Association, would go on to serve as world's secretary of the Young Women's Christian Association from 1894 to 1904.

26. *WCCA Annual Report*, 1905/06–1917/18, WCA; "Topics for the Wed. Evening Meetings," "Semester Calendars 1910/11–1931; Week of Prayer 1904–1931; Weekly Meetings; Y.W.C.A. 1896–1934," Folder, Box 1, Christian Association, WCA. On women and temperance, see, for example, Ruth Bordin, *Frances Willard: A Biography* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

27. "Proposition: Resolved, that a New Basis of Membership Should Be Adopted for the Wellesley College Christian Association," n.d. (but likely ca. 1913), Christian Association General (includes history, 1913), WCA, 1–2. Italics not present in original *Constitution of the Christian Association of Wellesley College* (Boston: J. E. Farwell, 1885), WCA. The Wellesley College Christian Association (WCCA) may have had a special dispensation to keep its membership basis in light of the fact that the international student movement approved removing the church membership requirement in 1913, although the American YWCA had not yet. Whiting, "Evolution of the Wellesley College Christian Association," 9; Wilson, *Religious and Educational Philosophy*, 42–43.

28. *WCCA Annual Report*, 1905/06–1909/10; 1907–1908, 3; 1909–1910, 3–4; and 1908–1909, 3.

29. *WCCA Annual Report*, 1905/06–1917/18. See, for example, *WCCA Annual Report,* 1912–1913, 4–5; 1907–1908, 3; 1910–1911, 6; and 1908–1909, 3.

30. *WCCA Annual Report*, 1912–1913, 5; 1905/06–1917/18; Setran, *College "Y,"* 80–81. Statistics calculated from "Membership of the College" and "Membership of the Association" numbers listed in each *WCCA Annual Report*.

31. On Wellesley's distinctiveness, see Patricia Ann Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

32. *WCCA Annual Report*, 1905/06–1917/18.

33. "The Bible Study Committee," *WCCA Annual Report*, 1905/06–1917/18; Katharine Coman, "The Wellesley Alumnae as Social Servants," reprint from *Wellesley Magazine* (November 1904), WCA; Whiting, "Evolution of the Wellesley College Christian Association," 9.

34. For an overview of Bryn Mawr under Thomas, see chapter 8.

35. *Lantern*, 1895, 95; 1900, 84; 1901, 78; 1902, 84; 1903, 96–97; 1904, 69; 1906, 79; 1907, 91; 1908, 97; and 1909, 100–101. The *Lantern* was Bryn Mawr's student literary magazine. It also reported on student activities.

36. Katherine V. Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose: Religion and Academics in the Bryn Mawr College Curriculum, 1885–1915," *Perspectives on the History of Higher Education* 27 (2008): 93–94; Setran, *College "Y,"* 80–81; Diaries of Mabel H. Austin (Converse), Class of 1905: 1897 through 1905, Box 1 of 1, October, 14, 1901 entry, 12 H, A91-33, Bryn Mawr College Archives (hereafter, BMCA).

37. Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 63–102, 94; *Handbook of Bryn Mawr College*, 1904, 10–11, Record Group 9PZ, BMCA; M. Carey Thomas to Grace H. Dodge, November 11, 1908, M. Carey Thomas Official Papers, Reel 117, BMCA.

38. Sedgwick, "An Ambiguous Purpose," 94; *Handbook of Bryn Mawr College*, 1904, 10–11; M. Carey Thomas to Grace H. Dodge, November 11, 1908; M. Carey Thomas to the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the

United States of America, May 17, 1909, M. Carey Thomas Official Papers, Reel 117, BMCA; *Lantern*, 1906, 82.

39. *Lantern*, 1895, 95; 1900, 84; 1901, 78; 1902, 84; 1903, 96–97; 1904, 69; 1906, 79; 1907, 91; 1908, 97; and 1909, 100–101.

40. *Lantern*, 1910, 94–96. The pressure from Thomas included forcing the Bryn Mawr League for the Service of Christ to disassociate from the national YWCA in March 1909. See Board of Trustees Minutes, March 19, 1909, 213, BMCA; and M. Carey Thomas to the National Board of the Young Women's Christian Association of the United States of America, May 17, 1909.

41. *Lantern*, 1912, 94–95; "Constitution of the Christian Association, adopted March 11, 1910," Articles 2 and 3, *Handbook of Bryn Mawr College*, 1910, 5, Record Group 9PZ, BMCA; *Lantern*, 1913, 96; and 1916, 74–75.

42. See these organizations' entries in the volumes of the *Lantern* from 1891 to 1914. Quotation from *Lantern,* 1894, 92.

43. C. Grey Austin, *A Century of Religion at the University of Michigan: A Case Study of Religion and the State University* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1957), 3–6; Setran, *College "Y,"* 32–35. On student religious life at the University of Michigan, see also Alfred Skerpan, "A Place for God: Religion, State Universities, and American Society, 1865–1920" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1998); and Jeffrey Bouman, "Non-sectarian, Not Secular: Students' Curricular and Co-Curricular Experience with Christian Faith at Brown University, the University of Michigan, and Cornell University, 1850–1920" (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2004).

44. "Editorial," *Monthly Bulletin of the University of Michigan* 6 (April 1885): 120–22; "Why Not?" *Monthly Bulletin of the University of Michigan* 7 (March 1886): 82–83; William Walker, "The Students' Christian Association from 1883 to 1889," 3–4, Historical Materials, Box 1, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, University of Michigan Archives (hereafter, UMA).

45. X, "Shall We Separate?" *Monthly Bulletin of the University of Michigan* 6 (April 1885): 112–14; "A Danger," *Monthly Bulletin of the University of Michigan* 8 (December 1886): 51–53.

46. Setran, *College "Y,"* 34; W. M. Mertz, "Shall We Separate?" *Monthly Bulletin of the University of Michigan* 17 (April 1896): 106–111.

47. Austin, *Century of Religion at the University of Michigan,* 11–12; *Students' Hand-Book*, 1895/96–1905/06, UMA.

48. *Students' Hand-Book*, 1895/96–1907/08, especially 1900–1901, 16, and 1907–1908, 32.

49. *Students' Hand-Book*, 1892, 15; 1905–1906, 7–8; 1904–1905, 12–14; and 1905–1906, 14–16.

50. For examples of activities of the Student Christian Association (SCA), YMCA, and YWCA, see: *Students' Hand-Book*, 1892/93–1917/18; Secretary's Record Book 1879–1890, Box 1, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA; YMCA Cabinet Minutes, March 23, 1895, and March 8, 1902; and University YWCA Annual Reports, 1911–1924, Box 5, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA; and YMCA Report/Prospectus, 1914/15, Box 6, Office of Ethics and Religion Records, 1860–1991, UMA. *Students' Hand-Book*, 1903–1904, 44.

51. *Students' Hand-Book*, 1913–1914, 28–29; YMCA Report/Prospectus, 1914/15; *Students' Hand-Book*, 1913–1914, 27.

52. YMCA Report/Prospectus, 1914/15.

53. Ibid.

54. "Think Y.M.C.A. Needs Radical Overhauling," *Michigan Daily* 22, no. 54 (December 5, 1911): 1, 4; "Union Denies Activity in YMCA Row," *Michigan Daily* 22, no. 56 (December 7, 1911): 1; "YMCA Must Go or Give Up Present Field," *Michigan Daily* 22, no. 57 (December 8, 1911): 1, 3.

55. *Blue and Gold*, 1880, 61; 1881, 76; 1882, 65; 1883, 81; 1884, 85; 1885, 74; and 1886, 86; Setran, *College "Y,"* 33–34. The University of California yearbook, the *Blue and Gold,* was put out by the junior class so, for example, the 1885 *Blue and Gold* is for the academic year 1883–1884. All yearbooks from University of California Archives (hereafter, UCA).

56. *Blue and Gold*, 1880, 61; 1881, 76; 1882, 65; 1883, 81; 1884, 85; 1885, 74; 1886, 86; and 1890, 89–91; Setran, *College "Y,"* 33–36; Dorothy Thelen Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point: 100 Years with the University YWCA* (Berkeley, CA: University YWCA, 1990), 1–3.

57. Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point*, 7–12; Frances Linsley, *What* Is *This Place? An Informal History of 100 Years of Stiles Hall* (Berkeley, CA: Stiles Hall, 1984), 5–10; *Blue and Gold*, 1886–1919.

58. Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 52–53, 60–61, 78–79; *Blue and Gold*, 1880ff., UCA; Linsley, *What* Is *This Place?* 5–12; Clemens, *Standing Ground and Starting Point*, 7–10, 23.

59. *Blue and Gold*, 1914, 227–28.

60. See *Association Record*, 1904–1910, UCA, especially "Editorial," January 17, 1905; "Mr. Mercer," February 2, 1909; and Mrs. Kofoid, "True Womanliness," September 7, 1909. Joe Carey, "Holding a He-Job in China," *Brass Tacks* 9, no. 5 (March 29, 1916), 3, UCA; J. G. Atcheson, "Social Service—A Man-Sized Drink," *Brass Tacks* 9, no. 5 (March 29, 1916), 6, 12–15, UCA.

Conclusion

1. Bruce Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: Colleges and Community in the "Age of the University,"* 2nd ed. (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction, 2005), 251–53; David P. Setran, *The College "Y": Student Religion in the Era of Secularization* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 153–56; Grace H. Wilson, *The Religious and Educational Philosophy of the Young Women's Christian Association: A Historical Study of the Changing Religious and Social Emphases of the Association as They Relate to Changes in Its Educational Philosophy, and Social Situations* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933), 47–69; Lynn Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education in the Progressive Era* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 1–11, 189–200; Paula Fass, *The Damned and the Beautiful: American Youth in the 1920s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977); Daniel A. Clark, *Creating the College Man: American Mass Magazines and Middle-Class Manhood, 1890–1915* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2010), 181–90.

2. Setran, *The College "Y,"* 156–77; James Turner, *Religion Enters the Academy: The Origins of the Scholarly Study of Religion in America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011); Jon H. Roberts and James Turner, *The Sacred and the Secular University* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000); Julie Reuben, *The Making of the Modern University: Intellectual Transformation and the Marginalization of Morality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

3. See, for example, Clark, *Creating the College Man*.

4. Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars*, 247–49, 253–60; Jerome Karabel, *The Chosen: The Hidden History of Admission and Exclusion at Harvard, Yale, and Princeton* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005), 1–136. On the overall shift from the reforming culture of the Progressive Era to the reaction of the 1920s, see Jackson Lears, *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877–1920* (New York: HarperCollins, 2009), 327–55; and Michael McGerr, *A Fierce Discontent: The Rise and Fall of the Progressive Movement in America, 1870–1920* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 279–319.

5. Gordon, *Gender and Higher Education*, 1–11, 189–200; Patricia Ann Palmieri, *In Adamless Eden: The Community of Women Faculty at Wellesley* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 245–68.

Index

1920s, 265–67, 270–71

Abbott, Lyman, 202
abolitionism, 55, 68, 70–71, 74, 85, 97, 102, 158, 267
academies. *See* seminaries
Addams, Jane, 5, 165, 245, 257
Adventism, 256
African American students. *See* black students
Agassiz, Elizabeth Cabot Carey, 145–49, 301n21
Agassiz, Louis, 145
Allen, Annie Ware Winsor, 135–36, 144
American Woman's Educational Association, 281n23
Amherst College, 103–6, 280n15
Andover Theological Seminary, 115
Angell, James, 193–200, 204–11, 213–14, 229, 257, 314n25
Annex. *See* Radcliffe College
Antioch College, 90–91, 94–96, 103, 106–7
Association of American Universities, 111, 292n2, 298n43
athletics, college, 26, 117, 150, 196, 217, 237. *See also names of individual institutions*

Bannister, Zilpah Grant. *See* Grant, Zilpah
Barton, George, 188
Bascom, John, 103, 105
Beadie, Nancy, 45
Bebbington, David, 277n13
Beecher, Catharine: and American Woman's Educational Association, 281n23; educational philosophy of, 39–43, 46–49, 51–52, 57–62; gender ideals of, 42–43, 46–49, 51–52, 57–62; and Hartford Female Seminary, 39, 41, 46–48, 61; and Mary Lyon, 39, 46, 49–52, 282n32; and Milwaukee Female College, 41, 57–58, 61; and National Board of Popular Education, 57; religious beliefs of, 24, 42–43, 46, 51, 62; and social class, 39, 42–43, 46–49, 51–52, 58, 60–62; and teaching profession, 42–43, 46, 51–52, 57, 61, 64, 281n23; upbringing of, 41–43, 46; and Western Female Institute, 41, 48–49, 61; and Zilpah Grant, 46–48, 281n23
Beecher, Henry Ward, 202
Beecher, Lyman, 41, 43, 47–48, 286n9
belief-action distinction. *See* fact-value distinction
benevolence societies, antebellum, 26, 29, 44, 56, 69–70, 115
Bible, teaching on gender in, 19–20, 25, 119, 187
biblical criticism. *See* historical criticism of the Bible
black colleges. *See* HBCUs
black students, 7, 12, 90, 275n8, 311n33. *See also* Oberlin College: biracial education at; Princeton University: racial discrimination at
Blackwell, Antoinette Brown, 74, 80, 82, 268, 287n23
Boston University, 244
Bowdoin College, 105, 158
Bowman, Matthew, 19
Braude, Ann, 29
Brekus, Catherine, 29
Briggs, LeBaron Russell, 148–49, 153, 243
British higher education, 91, 95, 98, 103, 131
Brooks, Phillips, 139, 229
Brown, Antoinette. *See* Blackwell, Antoinette Brown
Brown University, 105, 220
Bryn Mawr College: Christian Association at, 252–53; Christian Union at, 188–89, 251–53; curriculum, 174–75, 177–82, 184–87, 189, 191; donors and funding, 175–80; extracurriculum, 182, 188–89,

Bryn Mawr College *(continued)* 191, 251; faculty at, 130, 177, 180–84, 188; founding of, 25, 175–82 (*see also* Taylor, Joseph); graduate education at, 181, 190; and housing, 61, 177, 186; influenced by Mount Holyoke, 60–62; influenced by Smith College, 60–61; League for the Service of Christ at, 188–89, 251–53; M. Carey Thomas's leadership of, 29, 175, 183–91; racial discrimination at, 311n33; religious requirements at, 177–78, 180–84, 186–87; as representative women's college, 7, 9, 175; and social class, 61–62, 177–78; student expenses at, 32, 177–78, 186, 191; student government at, 190, 250–51; student voluntary religion and service, 180, 182, 184, 188–89, 191, 250–54; trustees of, 178–82, 190; vocations of graduates, 29, 175, 177–79, 181, 185–87, 189–91, 250, 254; Woodrow Wilson at, 130
Bryn Mawr College, presidents of. *See* Rhoads, James (1884–94); Thomas, M. Carey (dean 1884–94; president 1894–1922)
Bushnell, Horace, 214, 280n9
business: as profession for male graduates, 5, 265–66; as profession for female graduates, 200. *See also* professions (of college graduates); *and names of individual institutions:* vocations of graduates

Caldwell, Eunice, 280–81n15
California, University of. *See* University of California
Cambridge University, 103
campus life. *See names of individual institutions:* extracurriculum *and* student voluntary religion and service
Cannon, Annie Jump, 302n25
Carnahan, James, 115, 117
Catholic colleges, 7
Catholic students, 7, 56, 118, 213, 221, 235, 265
chapel, 4, 13–14, 23, 28. *See also names of individual institutions:* religious requirements at
Chase, Pliny Earle, 181–82
Chicago Commons, 257
church and state, 88–90, 106–7, 196, 208–9, 213
Civil War: and masculinity, 26; and national orientation of higher education, 137; and southern higher education, 7, 118, 283–84n42; and student life, 70, 75; as turning point in higher education, 1, 5, 21, 25, 85, 192
Clark, Daniel, 265
Clarke, Edward, 102–3
Clarke, James Freeman, 102
classical languages. *See* curriculum: classical
coeducation, 8, 12, 88–90; debates over (1850s), 91–96; debates over (1870s), 96–106; and funding, 31, 95–96; Oberlin as pioneer, 6, 68–69; religion and debates over, 88–91, 104–6; science and debates over, 88–91, 103–5; social change model and, 88–90, 101–7; state universities embrace, 12, 192. *See also names of individual institutions and educators*
coeducational universities. *See* Cornell University; Oberlin College; state universities
Coes, Mary, 149–51, 155, 203
Colby College, 105, 133
college attendance rates, 4–5
College of California, 213, 217
College Settlement Association, 147, 150, 163, 189, 245, 249, 254. *See also* settlement house movement
Columbia University, 241, 314n25
Coman, Katharine, 249
communitarianism, 50–51, 65; at Mount Holyoke, 50; at Oberlin, 63, 65–67, 73, 83, 86, 285n1
Congregationalism, 41, 149, 219, 242, 292n2, 315n5
coordinate colleges, 106–7; nature of, 112, 123; Radcliffe as pioneer, 144; rationale for, 133; and social class, 33; student expenses at, 33, 112, 134; student moral formation at, 263–64; vocations of graduates from, 264. *See also* Evelyn College; Radcliffe College
Cornell University, 220, 241; and coeducation debates, 8, 88, 97–100, 106–7; and M. Carey Thomas, 183–84, 187, 189. *See also* White, Andrew Dickson
Cowles, Alice, 69, 76, 79, 81
Cowles, Eunice Caldwell, 280–81n15
cult of true womanhood. *See* domesticity ideal
curriculum: classical, 11, 58–59, 67, 77–78, 91, 158–59; liberal arts, 25, 40–41;

elective system, 59–60, 104, 152, 170, 184, 193, 218 (*see also under* Eliot, Charles William); ornamental, 45, 61, 124, 281n17; women's professional, 42, 46, 52, 57–62. *See also names of individual institutions*

Dartmouth College, 105, 115
Darwinism, 3, 15, 89, 119
Dascomb, Marianne Parker, 73, 77, 80–81, 84, 86, 286n13
Davis, Horace, 216–17
deans of men, 28, 260, 317n27. *See also* University of California: deans of the lower division at
deans of women, 3, 28, 40, 77, 317n27. *See also* Oberlin College: female principals at; University of California: deans of women at; University of Michigan: deans of women at
democracy: and coeducation, 12, 22, 86, 92, 209, 212; in college life, 149–50, 203 (*see also under names of individual institutions:* student government); and social class, 158. *See also* moral vision of educators; social change, educators' philosophies of
denominational chaplains, 265–66
denominational colleges, 14, 16, 21–22, 34, 88, 91, 268. *See also* Bryn Mawr College; Princeton University; Wesleyan University
Dewey, John, 190
Dickinson, Emily, 56
disciplinary specialization, 16, 254
disinterested benevolence, 44
doctrinal courses, 4, 13–16, 23, 28, 266. *See also names of individual institutions:* religious requirements at
domestic economy. *See* domestic science
domesticity ideal, antebellum, 12, 29–30, 41–42. *See also* domestic labor system; domestic science
domestic labor system, 24, 49–52, 59–62, 160. *See also* manual labor system
domestic science, 57–58, 78, 185–86, 200, 206, 226–27
donors and fundraising, 21, 24–25, 27–29, 31–33. *See also names of individual institutions and educators*
Duffield, Edward, 293n3
Durant, Henry, 213–14, 217
Durant, Henry Fowle: educational philosophy of, 2–3, 60, 156–63; gender ideology of, 158–62; recruits Alice Freeman, 2–3, 167–68; religious beliefs of, 2–3, 156–58, 161–62; social change philosophy of, 156–58, 161; and social class, 158–59, 163; upbringing of, 158. *See also* Wellesley College: founding of; Wellesley College: influenced by Mount Holyoke
Durant, Pauline, 157–59, 170

Eddy, Mary Whitman, 280–81n15
Edwards, George C., 224, 228
efficiency ideal, 130, 246–47, 254, 263–64
Eisenmann, Linda, 274–75n7
elective system. *See under* curriculum
Eliot, Charles William, 97; on coeducation, 8, 88–89, 100–102, 104–5, 107, 143–44 (*see also* Eliot, Charles William: and women's education); and elective system, 78, 101–2, 118, 138–40, 142, 151; gender ideals of, 101–2, 138–39, 142, 147, 149, 151; philosophy of student moral formation, 138–40, 148; religious beliefs of, 101–2, 139, 141; and religious requirements, 118, 139; social change model of, 101–2; upbringing of, 101; and women's education, 81, 141–44, 149, 153, 174, 185 (*see also* Eliot, Charles William: on coeducation). *See also* Harvard University
Emerson, Joseph, 44, 49, 79
Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 148, 158
empiricism. *See* scientific method
employment of college graduates. *See* professions of college graduates
Episcopalianism, 139, 147, 171
ethics and morality. *See* moral vision of educators; student moral formation
evangelicalism: at antebellum men's colleges, 4, 23, 268, 88–90, 106; and coeducation, 88–90, 106–7; definition of, 17–19; disestablished in higher education, 1, 14; and gender ideology, 3–4, 19–22, 268; and Orthodox Quakers, 176; strengths and weaknesses, 270; at twentieth-century colleges, 7; and early women's colleges, 59–62, 86. *See also* evangelical pragmatism; vertical spirituality; *and names of individual institutions and educators*
evangelical pragmatism: definition of, 24, 280n14; and gender ideals, 25; and New Divinity theology, 44; strengths and weaknesses, 269; and student moral formation, 267–68; and women's higher

evangelical pragmatism *(continued)* education, 24, 31–32, 61–62, 92–93, 177–78. *See also* evangelicalism; Mount Holyoke Female Seminary; Oberlin College; vertical spirituality; Wellesley College: founding of
Evelyn College, 112, 118, 144, 146, 235; curriculum, 123–24, 127, 155; donors and fundraising, 125, 127–28, 134, 154–55; extracurriculum, 125, 155; faculty at, 296n30; religious requirements at, 125–27; as representative coordinate college, 7, 9, 133–36, 154–55; student expenses at, 124–25, 127, 154–55; student voluntary religion and service, 242, 246; vocations of graduates, 126–27, 154–55, 191

fact-value distinction, 15–17
faculty, 9, 16, 28, 40, 62. *See also names of individual institutions*
Fairchild, James, 71–73, 75, 77, 81–86, 98, 104
female reform culture. *See* social reform: gendered cultures of
femininity, 3, 30, 269. *See also* feminization of U.S. Protestantism; *and names of individual institutions and educators*
feminism, 19–20, 55, 70, 74, 77, 85, 102. *See also* Thomas, M. Carey
feminization of U.S. Protestantism, 6, 29–31, 155, 238, 269
Finney, Charles, 68–69, 79–81, 158; and coeducation, 25, 77, 80, 87, 94–95, 268
fraternities and sororities. *See* Greek organizations
Freeman, Alice: influence on higher education, 3–5; influence on later Wellesley presidents, 169–71; influence on Lucy Sprague, 3, 225; marriage to George Herbert Palmer, 3–4, 169, 306n31; as president of Wellesley, 2–4, 167–69; religious beliefs of, 2–3, 168–69; social change philosophy of, 168; and University of Michigan, 1–2, 167, 197, 246
Frieze, Henry, 195–96
fundamentalism, 7, 19. *See also* evangelicalism
fundraising. *See* donors and fundraising

Georgia Female College, 283–84n42
German higher education: influence on U.S. higher education, 21, 97, 117, 124, 303n35; as training for U.S. scholars, 184, 220; influence on University of Michigan, 91–93, 95
Gilded Age social changes, 26, 120, 152, 157, 164
Gilman, Daniel Coit, 97, 178, 214–16, 218
Gloege, Timothy, 277n13
Gordon, Lynn, 28
graduate education. *See names of individual institutions*
Graham, Sylvester, 287n27
Graham diet, 77
Grant, Zilpah, 39, 46–49, 51, 79–80, 280–81n15, 281n23
Greek and Latin. *See* curriculum: classical
Greek organizations (fraternities and sororities), 217, 237; at Princeton, 117, 121; at University of Michigan, 196–97, 208, 210; at University of California, 217, 220, 224, 229–30, 319n46

Harris, Rendel, 188
Hartford Female Seminary, 39, 41, 46–48, 61
Harvard Annex. *See* Radcliffe College
Harvard University: and Association of American Universities, 292; athletics at, 139, 140, 150, 152, 154; and coeducation debates, 88–89, 100–105, 107, 137–38, 141, 143; curriculum, 136, 138–40, 142, 150–52, 154, 180; dean of the faculty (*see* Briggs, LeBaron Russell); donors and fundraising, 142–43, 153–54; extracurriculum, 136, 139–140, 150, 152, 154; faculty at, 3, 94, 102–3, 146, 148; Henry Fowle Durant at, 158; housing, 151; overseers of, 102, 139, 144; Phillips Brooks House at, 139, 243, 263; religious heritage of, 27, 113, 136–37; religious requirements, 101, 139, 194, 242; as representative men's college, 6, 9, 135–36, 154–55; motto, 273n2; student expenses, 135, 142–43, 180; student voluntary religion and service, 139–40, 191, 238, 242–44, 246; vocations of graduates, 137, 154, 238, 243; and women's education, 133 141, 143–44, 152–54, 167 (*see also* Radcliffe College; Harvard University: and coeducation debates)
Harvard University, presidents of. *See* Eliot, Charles William (1869–1909); Lowell, A. Lawrence (1909–33)

Haven, Erastus O., 99
Haverford College, 175–77, 180–81
Hazard, Caroline, 171–2, 174
HBCUs (Historically Black Colleges and Universities), 7
Hearst, Phoebe Apperson, 221–23
Heidelberg University, 220
Henry Street Settlement, 226, 257
Hibben, John Grier, 131–133, 151, 240
Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, 102–4
higher education: changes in Gilded Age, 21, 117–19; contemporary, 34–35, 271; in Europe, 277n17 (*see also* British higher education; German higher education); influence on U.S. society, 2, 4–6, 8, 11–14, 22, 34–35, 267–69; shaped by funding, 31–33; women's wide-scale entrance into, 1–2, 4. *See also names of individual institutions*
Hillsdale College, 90, 106–7
historical criticism of the Bible, 3, 15, 89, 119, 169
Hitchcock, Edward, 280–81n15
Hoganson, Kristin, 140
home economics. *See* domestic science
Hopkins, Mark, 94
Hopkins, Samuel, 44
horizontal spirituality: definition of, 17–18; relationship to gender ideology, 19–20. *See also* relational spirituality framework; *and names of individual institutions and educators*
Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz, 59
Howard, Ada, 167
Hull House, 165, 257
humanities, 16, 118–19, 145, 215, 266
Hutchins, Harry, 20, 199, 206–10, 269
Hutchinson, Lincoln, 228–29

immigration, 15, 26, 120, 152, 157, 164, 240–41
Indiana University, 96
industrialization, 26, 152, 157, 164
institutional identity (of colleges and universities): and gender, 21–22, 34–35; and student moral formation, 22, 34–35
Ipswich Female Seminary, 46–47, 49, 80, 280–81n15
Irvine, Julia, 170
Irwin, Agnes, 146–49

Jewett, Milo, 58
Jewish students, 7, 56, 118, 235, 265, 311n33
Johns Hopkins University, 97, 107, 214, 220; influence on Bryn Mawr College, 178, 180–81, 184, 309n17
Johnston, Adelia A. F., 77, 84–85, 87
Jordan, Myra, 202–4, 206, 209, 224, 258
Judson Female Institute, 58

Kansas State University, 96
Kelley, Florence, 5
Kellogg, Martin, 212, 217–19, 221
Kendricks, Eliza, 169
kingdom of God: definition of, 24; different approaches to, 267–269

Lane Theological Seminary, 48, 68, 286n9
Latin and Greek. *See* curriculum: classical
law (as profession for male graduates), 5, 266. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions:* vocations of graduates
Leavitt, Henrietta, 302n25
LeConte, John, 216
liberal arts. *See under* curriculum
liberal Protestantism. *See* Beecher, Catharine; Bushnell, Horace; Mann, Horace; modernism (Protestant)
librarian (as profession for female graduates), 5. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions:* vocations of graduates
Lowell, A. Lawrence, 150–54, 258, 301n21
Lyon, Mary: and abolitionism, 55; and Catharine Beecher, 39, 46, 49–52, 282n32; conversion of, 63; educational philosophy of, 39–45, 47, 49–52, 79, 83, 156, 159–60; fundraising approach of, 24, 49–52, 282n32; gender ideology of, 42–45, 50–52; letters of, 280–81n15; as principal of Mount Holyoke, 52–53, 58; religious beliefs of, 24–25, 42–45, 49–52, 61–62, 80, 156; and social class, 39, 42, 44–45, 47, 49–52, 159, 163; and teaching profession, 42, 44–45, 49, 51–52, 64; upbringing of, 41–45, 49, 157

Maclean, John, Jr., 115–17
Mahan, Asa, 68, 76–83
Mann, Horace, 24, 90, 94–96, 99
manual labor system, 49–50, 66. *See also* domestic labor system
market revolution, 40
Marquand, Allan, 296n30

marriage rates of female college graduates, 99, 141, 185, 278n19
Marsden, George, 16
Mary Sharp College, 283–84n42
masculinity, 26, 30, 119–22, 140, 238, 243–44, 258. *See also* muscular Christianity
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), 101
McCosh, James, 97, 117–24, 128, 136, 138, 214, 239
McIlvaine, Elizabeth, 125, 297n36
McIlvaine, J. H. (Joshua Hall), 123–28
medical doctor: as profession for male graduates, 5, 266; as profession for female graduates, 200. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions:* vocations of graduates
men's colleges and universities, 106–7; Harvard as representative, 6; and institutional identity, 21–22, 33; and national aspirations, 27, 29, 112, 137, 268–69; Princeton as representative, 7, 111–12; rationale for, 133; and religious outlook, 88–90; student life at, 56, 117; student moral formation at, 27, 29, 263–64, 268–69; tuition and scholarships at, 33, 113, 118, 124, 130; vocations of graduates from, 264. *See also names of individual institutions*
mental discipline, 11, 46, 78, 91, 123, 138
Methodism, 105–6, 133
Michigan, University of. *See* University of Michigan
Michigan Central College. *See* Hillsdale College
Michigan State University, 200
Middlebury College, 105, 103
Milwaukee Female College, 41, 57–58, 61
ministry (as profession for male graduates), 5, 266. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions:* vocations of graduates
missions, foreign. *See* Mount Holyoke Female Seminary: and foreign missions; Oberlin College: and foreign missions; *and names of individual institutions:* student voluntary religion and service *and* vocations of graduates. *See under* Young Men's Christian Association; Young Women's Christian Association
Mitchell, Lucy Sprague. *See* Sprague, Lucy
modernism (Protestant): ascendance in higher education, 1, 3, 14–16, 21–22; and coeducation, 88–90, 106–7; definition of, 15, 17–19; and gender ideology, 3–4, 19–22, 268–69; and Hicksite Quakers, 176; strengths and weaknesses, 270. *See also* horizontal spirituality; *and names of individual institutions and educators*
morality and ethics. *See* moral vision of educators; student moral formation
moral philosophy course, 13, 23; at Oberlin, 67, 80, 192; at Princeton, 113; at Bryn Mawr, 181; at University of California, 213
moral vision of educators: egalitarian vs. gendered, 4, 9, 12–13, 24–29, 34, 267–71; and funding, 31–33. *See also names of individual institutions and educators*
More, Hannah, 95
Morrill Land-Grant Act, 25, 96, 100, 212–13, 215–16, 290n16, 316n11
Mosher, Eliza, 198–203, 209, 222, 312–13n14, 314n25
Mott, John, 256
Mount Holyoke Female Seminary (later, College): conversions at, 53–54; curriculum, 25, 50, 52, 58–62; domestic labor system, 49–50, 52, 59–62, 160; donors and fundraising, 24, 49–52; and evangelical pragmatism, 24, 31–32, 49–52, 89, 100; and foreign missions, 54, 56, 267, 283n37; faculty at, 49, 51–52, 249, 280–81n15; founding of, 23–24, 39; and housing, 50–51; influence on women's colleges, 2, 8, 24, 40–41, 56–62 (*see also* Wellesley College: influenced by Mount Holyoke); as pioneer in women's education, 6; religious requirements at, 52–57, 160; and social class, 32, 39–41, 49–52, 163; student life at, 52–57, 73, 162, 167, 283n37; and vocations of graduates, 54, 74, 126, 158, 162, 267
muscular Christianity, 120–22, 130, 205–7, 229–30, 238, 240, 242, 262

Nash, Margaret, 275–76n4
National Board of Popular Education, 57
National Consumers League, 245, 254
National Municipal League, 245
New Divinity theology, 44–45, 49, 52
New Woman, 26

Nineteenth Amendment, 6, 9. *See also* women's suffrage
Norton, Charles Eliot, 140
Nott, Eliphalet, 94
nursing (as profession for female graduates), 5, 269. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions*: vocations of graduates

Oakley, Annie, 303n33
Oberlin College (Oberlin Collegiate Institute): biracial education at, 24, 68, 77, 84, 86; coeducation begins at, 68–69; conversions at, 71–72; curriculum, 66–69, 77, 78–81, 83; early years of, 67–69; faculty at, 68–69, 72–73, 75, 77–80, 82; and foreign missions, 75, 167; founding of, 23, 63–67; graduate education at, 25, 67–68, 74, 80; influence on coeducational universities, 8, 24, 106–7; influence on national coeducation debates, 64, 76, 81, 86–87, 91, 94–95, 97–100, 103–105; Ladies' Board, 72–74, 81; and Oberlin Female Moral Reform Society, 70; and *Oberlin Student Monthly*, 70–71, 74; as pioneer in coeducation, 6, 23–24; religious environment of, 69–72, 75–76; religious outlook of, 24, 31–32, 63–67, 86–87, 89, 94–95, 100; and social class, 32–33, 65–69; and social reforms, 63–64, 69–71, 86–87; social change model of, 65–69, 86–87; student behavior at, 72–73, 98–99; student life at, 69–76; vocations of graduates, 74, 86–87, 267
Oberlin College, female principals at. *See* Cowles, Alice (1836–39); Dascomb, Marianne Parker (1852–70); Johnston, Adelia A. F. (1871–1900)
Oberlin College, presidents of. *See* Fairchild, James (1866–89); Finney, Charles (1851–66); Mahan, Asa (1835–50)
Ohio University, 96
ornamental education, 45, 61, 124, 281n17

Palmer, Alice Freeman. *See* Freeman, Alice
Palmer, George Herbert, 3–4, 169, 306n31
Patton, Frances, 119–24, 127–28, 130, 132–33, 155, 239–41
Peixotto, Jessica, 225
Pendleton, Ellen Fitz, 172–73
Philadelphian Society, 115, 117, 122, 129, 239–42, 258, 263
philology, 184, 220
political science, 130, 151, 184
politics (as profession for male graduates), 5, 11–12, 266. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions*: vocations of graduates
Presbyterianism, 2, 111, 123, 213–14, 217; and Princeton, 21, 113–15, 117, 119–20, 128, 132, 136
Princeton Theological Seminary, 68
Princeton University: antebellum era at, 111, 114–117; athletics at, 117–19, 121–22, 125, 154, 240–41; colonial era at, 113–114; curriculum, 116–18, 123–25, 129–32, 154; donors and fundraising, 120–22, 124, 131–33; extracurriculum, 115, 117, 121–22, 125, 129, 154, 239–41; faculty at, 113–16, 122–23, 296n30; founding purpose, 113; graduate education at, 127–28, 131; housing at, 113, 117; racial discrimination at, 113, 131, 298n43; religious requirements at, 113–14, 116, 119, 122, 125, 128, 239; as representative men's college, 2, 6, 8–9, 111–12, 133–34, 136, 154–55; student behavior, 113–15, 117, 122; student expenses at, 124, 127, 130–31; student government at, 122, 125, 240; student voluntary religion and service, 115, 117, 191, 238–41, 246 (*see also* Philadelphian Society); transition from college to university, 111–12, 120, 127–28, 133–34; trustees of, 113, 123–24, 131; vocations of graduates, 113–17, 120, 129–30, 154, 238–42; and women's education, 105, 112, 120, 130–31 (*see also* Evelyn College)
Princeton University, presidents of. *See* Carnahan, James (1823–54); Hibben, John Grier (1912–32); Maclean Jr., John (1854–68); McCosh, James (1868–88); Patton, Francis (1888–1902); Wilson, Woodrow (1902–10); Witherspoon, John (1768–94)
professions of college graduates: considered female, 3, 5, 26–28, 200, 265–67, 269, 284n46; considered male, 5, 11–12, 266, 284n46. *See also names of individual institutions:* vocations of graduates
Progressivism, 157, 164, 189–90; definition of, 26; among educators, 230–31; and efficiency ideal, 130, 246–47, 263–64; and gendered reform cultures, 3, 5–6, 9, 34, 265–67, 269; and Social Darwinism,

Progressivism *(continued)*
228; at women's colleges, 28, 164–67. *See also* social reform; settlement house movement
prostitution, 223, 237
Protestantism, feminization of, 6, 29–31, 155, 238, 269
Protestant modernism. *See* modernism (Protestant)
public universities. *See* state universities

Quakers: beliefs of, 175–76, 251; gender ideals of, 175, 177–80; Hicksite branch, 175–76; Orthodox branch, 175–83, 199, 201–2; and social class, 32, 177–78; at Wellesley, 170–71; and women ministers, 29, 74, 175; and women's education, 176–80, 187. *See also* Bryn Mawr College: founding of
Queenscourt, 125

Radcliffe College: and Alice Freeman Palmer, 3–4; athletics at, 150; and Charles William Eliot, 141; Christian Association (RCA) at, 147, 150, 244–45; curriculum, 135, 145, 148–50, 153, 155; donors and fundraising, 146–47, 153–55; Emmanuel Club at, 147, 150, 244–45; extracurriculum, 135–36, 146–50, 155, 244–46; faculty at, 144, 146; founding purpose, 144–45; and housing, 142, 144–46, 244–45; and Lucy Sprague, 3, 224; Radcliffe Guild at, 150, 245, 263; religious requirements at, 136, 144–45; as representative coordinate college, 7, 9, 135–36, 154–55; and student expenses, 135, 142–43, 146–47, 150, 154–55; student government at, 150; student voluntary religion and service, 147, 242–46, 301n23; vocations of graduates, 141–42, 145–49, 153–55, 191, 245
Radcliffe College, deans of. *See* Coes, Mary (1909–13); Irwin, Agnes (1894–1909)
Radcliffe College, presidents of. *See* Agassiz, Elizabeth Cabot Carey (1894–1903); Briggs, LeBaron Russell (1903–23)
Raymond, John, 59, 103–5
reform movements. *See* social reform
Reid, William, 216
relational spirituality framework: and coeducation, 88–90; definition of (vertical vs. horizontal spirituality), 17–18; and feminization of U.S. Protestantism, 30–31; and gender ideology, 8, 19–20, 22, 15–26, 34; and institutional identity, 20–22; and student moral formation, 22, 267–69. *See also* horizontal spirituality; vertical spirituality; *and names of individual institutions and educators*
religion in higher education: antebellum requirements, 13; in curriculum, 266; in extracurriculum, 14, 16, 265–66; requirements abolished, 4, 6, 14. *See also* evangelicalism; modernism; relational spirituality framework
republican motherhood, 12, 40, 92, 114, 275–76n4
research ideal, 1, 4, 21. *See also* German higher education: influence on U.S. higher education
research universities, 15. *See also* research ideal; *and names of individual institutions*
Reuben, Julie, 16
Revolutionary War, 12, 114
Rhoads, James, 180–83
Ripley, Samuel and Sarah, 158–59
Ritter, Mary, 222–24, 227
Roberts, Jon, 16
Roosevelt, Theodore, 27, 140, 148

Sack, Daniel, 239
Sage, Henry W., 97–98
Salvation Army, 226
science courses, 31, 116, 119, 159, 185–86, 266. *See also* Darwinism
scientific method, 15–17, 88–90, 97–98, 100–101, 103–5, 153, 157. *See also* coeducation: science and debates over; research ideal; science courses
Scudder, Vita Dutton, 163–68, 171–72
secularization of higher education, 6; definition problematic, 14; scholarship on, 14–17; traditional narrative incomplete, 22. *See also* religion in higher education
Seelye, L. Clark, 178
selective admissions, 266
seminaries, 40–41, 78, 104, 156
separate spheres ideology. *See* domesticity ideal
Setran, David, 16–17
settlement house movement, 26, 165–66, 168, 173, 197, 226, 257, 269; and Chicago Commons, 257; and College Settlement Association, 147, 150, 163, 189, 245, 249, 254; and Henry Street,

226, 257; and Hull House, 165, 257; and male students, 241, 243, 257, 25; as profession for female graduates, 5, 269
Seven Sisters, 13, 40–41. *See also names of individual institutions*
Sex in Education; or, A Fair Chance for Girls (Clarke), 102–3
sexual scandal, 102–3, 192; at Oberlin College, 86; at University of Michigan, 99, 194, 198; at University of California, 223–24, 227–28
Shafer, Helen, 170
Shipherd, John J., 63–68, 157, 286n6
Smith, Christian, 16
Smith College, 25, 60–62, 97, 163, 178, 180, 223
social change, educators' philosophies of: bottom-up vs. top-down, 12–13, 32–33, 268–69, 88–90, 106–7; and effect on coeducational debates, 88–90, 101–7; and vertical vs. horizontal spirituality, 267–69, 88–90. *See also* Gilded Age social changes; *and names of individual institutions and educators*
Social Darwinism, 228
social gospel, 18, 164, 248
socialism, 168, 190
social order, educators' vision of. *See* moral vision of educators
social reform: antebellum approach to, 156, 161 (*see also* benevolence societies); gendered cultures of, 3, 5–6, 9, 34, 265–67, 269. *See also* Progressivism; *and names of individual institutions and educators*
social science, 104, 225
social service. *See under* Young Men's Christian Association; Young Women's Christian Association. *See names of individual institutions:* student voluntary religion and service *and* vocations of graduates
social work, 3, 26, 28; and Bryn Mawr, 190; as profession for female graduates, 5, 269; and Wellesley, 161, 164–65, 173; and YMCA, 242. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions:* vocations of graduates
Society for the Collegiate Instruction of Women. *See* Radcliffe College
Society of Friends. *See* Quakers
sociology, 190, 254
sororities and fraternities. *See* Greek organizations
southern colleges, 7, 283–84n42
Spanish-American War, 26, 140
spirituality. *See* relational spirituality framework
Sprague, Lucy, 3, 222, 224–28, 318n35
state universities, 106–7; first admit women, 12; and funding, 32–33; institutional identity of, 21–22; and religion, 32–33, 192; and student moral formation, 28, 263–64; and student population, 152–53; University of California as representative, 7, 9; University of Michigan as representative, 7, 9; vocations of graduates from, 264. *See also* coeducation; *and names of individual institutions*
Stebbins, Lucy Ward, 227–28
Stewart, Philo P., 65–66, 68
Stone, Lucy, 74, 268, 287n23
Stout, Harry, 29
student government. *See names of individual institutions*
student life. *See names of individual institutions:* extracurriculum *and* student voluntary religion and service
student moral formation: as traditional college responsibility, 1, 5, 13; in extracurriculum, 16–17; gendered ideal of, 4, 9, 22, 34; and institutional identity, 22; and relational spirituality framework, 19, 24–29, 267–71; influence of YMCA and YWCA on, 16–17, 235–36. *See also names of individual institutions*
suffrage. *See* women's suffrage
Summers, Lawrence, 291n28
Swarthmore College, 308n4

Tappan, Arthur and Lewis, 68
Tappan, Henry, 91–93, 97, 99, 117
Taylor, Joseph, 32, 175–81
teaching (as profession for female graduates), 5, 269. *See also* professions of college graduates; *and names of individual institutions*: vocations of graduates
temperance, 64, 158, 161, 246–47, 257, 267. *See also* Women's Christian Temperance Union
Thomas, M. Carey: anti-Semitism of, 311n33; and Charles William Eliot, 174–75, 185; educational philosophy of, 174–75, 181, 184–86, 189, 250, 253; family of, 179–80, 183, 187; gender

Thomas, M. Carey *(continued)*
ideals of, 174–75, 183–85, 250, 254; lesbian relationships of, 310n24; religious beliefs of, 29, 183, 187–90, 250–51, 253–54, 311n33; and social change philosophy, 29, 183–84, 188–90, 311n36; and social class, 186; upbringing and education of, 183–84, 187; and Woodrow Wilson, 130
Trinity College, 105
Troy Female Seminary, 279n5
Tufts College, 133
tuition. *See names of individual institutions*: student expenses
Turner, James, 16
Tyler, W. S., 104–5

Union College, 94
Unitarianism, 90, 94, 171, 199, 217, 242, 256; at Harvard, 100, 102, 136–37, 140–41, 148, 152, 242–43; at Radcliffe, 136, 145, 148
University of California: athletics at, 217, 220; curriculum, 212–13, 215–16, 218, 220, 223–27, 316n11; donors and funding, 212–13; extracurriculum, 211–12, 217, 219–22, 224–25, 227, 229–30, 261; faculty at, 222–225; founding, 211–13; housing, 211, 214–15, 217, 221–24, 226–27, 229–30, 261; moral vision of, 212; religious requirements at, 211, 213–15; as representative coeducational university, 7, 9; Stiles Hall, 230, 261–62; student behavior, 216, 219–20, 227–29; student expenses, 212, 221, 223; student government at, 224, 261; student voluntary religion and service, 212, 214, 218–22, 224, 226–30, 254, 260–63; vocations of graduates, 212–13, 215–18, 220–21, 223–31, 262–63; women's culture at, 217–18, 222–28
University of California, deans of the lower division (dean of men) at: 221–22, 224, 228–30, 317n27, 319n46. *See also* Edwards, George C.; Hutchinson, Lincoln
University of California, deans of women at: 3, 221–28, 229–31. *See also* Ritter, Mary (1898–1904); Sprague, Lucy (1906–12); Stebbins, Lucy Ward (1912–41)
University of California, gender ideals of female administrators. *See* University of California, deans of women at
University of California, gender ideals of male administrators: 212–22. *See also* University of California, deans of the lower division at; University of California, presidents of
University of California, presidents of. *See* Davis, Horace (1888–90); Durant, Henry (1870–72); Gilman, Daniel Coit (1872–75); Kellogg, Martin (1890–99); LeConte, John (1875–1881); Reid, William (1881–85); Wheeler, Benjamin Ide (1899–1919)
University of Chicago, 3–4
University of Iowa, 90–91
University of Leipzig, 184
University of Michigan: and Alice Freeman, 1–2, 167, 197, 246; athletics at, 196–97, 203; coeducation begins at, 96–97; and coeducation debates, 8, 91–98; curriculum at, 91–94, 193, 195–96, 199–201, 203, 206; dean of students at, 204, 208; extracurriculum at, 193, 196–98, 203–4, 206–10, 255–56, 259; faculty at, 97, 195–96, 198–99, 200–201, 259; finances of, 91, 95–96, 192; founding of, 192; housing at, 99, 193, 196, 199, 202–4, 207–8; influence on University of California, 211; Michigan Union at, 207–8, 210, 259–60; moral vision of, 92–93, 192–93, 195–96, 209; religious environment at, 92–93; religious requirements at, 192–96, 208; as representative coeducational university, 7, 9; and social class, 92; student behavior at, 99, 194, 205; Student Christian Association (SCA) at, 2, 194, 196, 202–3, 209–10, 246; student expenses, 195; student government at, 196, 203; student voluntary religion and service, 193–94, 196–210, 241, 254–60, 263; vocations of graduates, 194–210, 241, 257–60, 263; women's culture at, 197, 203–204, 207; Women's League at, 197, 203–4, 207, 210
University of Michigan, deans of women at, 197–204, 206, 208–9, 314n25. *See also* Jordan, Myra (1902–22); Mosher, Eliza (1896–1902)
University of Michigan, gender ideals of female administrators. *See* University of Michigan, deans of women at
University of Michigan, gender ideals of male administrators, 204–8

University of Michigan, presidents of. *See* Angell, James (1871–1909); Frieze, Henry (1869–71); Haven, Erastus O. (1863–69); Hutchins, Harry, (1909–1920); Tappan, Henry (1852–63)
University of Pennsylvania, 188
University of Vermont, 105
University of Zurich, 184
urbanization, 26, 152, 157, 164, 237

Vassar, Matthew, 57–60
Vassar College, 125, 144, 159, 174, 198; founding of, 57–62; and religion, 25, 59; and student expenses, 2, 62. *See also* Raymond, John
vertical spirituality: definition of, 17–18; relationship to gender ideology, 19–20. *See also* relational spirituality framework; *and names of individual institutions and educators*

Wald, Lillian, 257
Wayland, Francis, 78
WCTU, 201, 238, 250
Wellesley College: black students at, 275n8; Christian Association (WCCA) at, 168, 246–50; curriculum, 60, 159–64, 166–67, 169–70, 172–73, 191; domestic labor system at, 60, 156, 159–60, 163, 170; donors and fundraising, 163, 170–71; extracurriculum, 156–57, 162, 167–69, 191; faculty at, 3, 159, 163–69, 170–72, 198, 246, 248–50; founding of, 2, 25, 60, 97, 156–63 (*see also* Durant, Henry Fowle); housing at, 60, 159–63, 169; influenced by Mount Holyoke, 2, 60–62, 156–60, 162–63; religious requirements at, 156–57, 159, 161–64, 166–71, 173; as representative women's college, 7, 9, 156–57; and social class, 60–62; student behavior at, 156–57, 160; and student expenses, 60, 156–57, 159, 163, 169–70, 191; student voluntary religion and service, 168, 171–72, 191, 246–250, 254; transition to modernism, 3; vocations of graduates, 126, 158, 161–73, 191, 246–47, 249–50
Wellesley College, presidents of. *See* Freeman, Alice (1881–87); Hazard, Caroline (1899–1910); Howard, Ada (1875–81); Irvine, Julia (1894–99); Pendleton, Ellen Fitz (1911–36); Shafer, Helen, (1887–94)
Wesleyan University, 105–6, 130, 133
West, Andrew, 5, 131
Western Female Institute, 41, 48–49, 61
Western Reserve College, 68
Wheaton Female Seminary (later, College), 41
Wheeler, Benjamin Ide, 219–22, 224–27, 229
White, Andrew Dickson, 8, 88–89, 97–103, 107, 141
White, Hannah, 49–50, 280–81n15
Willard, Emma, 279n5
Willard, Frances, 5
Williams College, 94, 103, 105–6, 241
Wilson, Woodrow, 127–33, 138, 143, 151–52, 240
Winsor, Annie Ware, 135–36, 144
Wishard, Luther, 239, 260
Witherspoon, John, 114
Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), 201, 238, 250
women's colleges, 106–7; Bryn Mawr as representative, 7, 9; curriculum, 40–41, 57–62; and domesticity, 57–62; and housing, 59–61; influenced by men's colleges, 40–41, 56–57; influenced by Mount Holyoke, 2, 8, 24, 40–41, 56–62; and institutional identity, 21–22; Mount Holyoke as pioneer, 6; and religion, 59–62, 86; and social class, 40–41, 59–62; southern, 283–84n42; and student life, 56–57; and student moral formation, 3, 27–28, 41, 59–62, 263–64; vocations of graduates from, 264; Wellesley as representative, 7, 9. *See also* coordinate colleges; *and names of individual institutions*
Women's Education Association, 144–45
women's rights. *See* feminism
women's suffrage, 11–12, 26, 75, 114, 129, 181, 215–16; and coeducation debates, 89, 92; debated at Oberlin, 75; Harry Hutchins advocates, 207; Mary Coes and, 150; M. Carey Thomas advocates, 190; in New Jersey, 293n7; and Nineteenth Amendment, 6, 9
World War I, 9, 265–66; as turning point in higher education, 9, 236

Yale University: academic quality of, 180, 292n2; and Henry Durant, 315n5; and religion, 113, 115; student expenses at, 106, 143; student voluntary religion and

Yale University *(continued)*
service, 241; and women's education, 105, 298n43
Yeshiva College, 275n8
Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA): in 1920s, 265–66; coeducation in, 254–56, 260–61; college department of, 235–38; early history of, 236–37; and gendered moral formation, 9, 28–29, 122, 238, 263–64; at Harvard, 4, 242–44; membership requirements of, 236–37, 240, 243, 256, 260; and missions (foreign), 241, 243, 261; Oberlin's precursor to, 70; Philadelphian Society as pioneer, 122; popularity, 235–37, 239; at Princeton, 239–42; religious changes in, 17, 237–38, 258, 263; and single sexual standard, 201; and social service, 238, 240–41, 243, 257–58, 260–62; student moral formation, responsibility for, 16–17, 235–38; and university administrations, 263–64; at University of California, 219–21, 229–30, 260–63, 319n46; at University of Michigan, 202–5, 207–10, 254–60, 263; and vocations of graduates, 238, 264; and World War I, 265
Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA): in 1920s, 265–66; at Bryn Mawr, 188–89, 251–52, 323n40; as career for women, 200; college department of, 235–38; early history of, 237; and gendered moral formation, 9, 28–29, 238, 263–64; membership requirements of, 237, 245, 247–48, 251–52, 322n27; and missions (foreign), 238, 246–7, 250–53, 261–62; Oberlin's precursor to, 70; popularity, 235–37; at Radcliffe, 150, 244–46; religious changes in, 237–38, 258, 263; and social service, 238, 252–54, 257–58, 260–62; student moral formation, responsibility for, 16–17, 235–38; and university administrations, 263–64; at University of California, 219–24, 226–30, 260–63; at University of Michigan, 202–4, 207–10, 255–60, 263; and vocations of graduates, 238, 264; at Wellesley College, 246–50; and World War I, 265